

# Hittite and Other Studies

by

## John Garstang, Oliver R. Gurney, and J. G. Macqueen

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John Garstang (1876-1956) was an archaeologist of the ancient Near East, especially of Asia Minor. The articles below were published between the years 1942 and 1963. A [Wikipedia entry](#), which has additional bibliography, describes him as "a pioneer in the development of scientific practices in archaeology as he kept detailed records of his excavations with extensive photographic records, which was a comparatively rare practice in early 20th-century archaeology."

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[The Land of the Hittites](#), by John Garstang (1910), in 639 pdf pages, at Internet Archive.  
[Works by John Garstang](#), at Internet Archive.

[Šamuh̄a and Malatia](#), from *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Oct., 1942), pp. 450-459.

[Hittite Military Roads in Asia Minor: A Study in Imperial Strategy with a Map](#), from *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 47, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1943), pp. 35-62.

[The Hulaya River Land and Dadassas: A Crucial Problem in Hittite Geography](#), from *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Jan., 1944), pp. 14-37.

[Deos Latio: Western Asia Minor and the Gods of Aeneas](#), from *Vergilius* (1959-), No. 8 (1962), pp. 18-26.

[Aeneas and the Sibyls](#), from *Classical Journal*, Vol. 59, No. 3 (Dec., 1963), pp. 97-101.

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Oliver R. Gurney (1922-2001), nephew of John Garstang, was a British Assyriologist and specialist on the Hittites. In addition to teaching at Oxford, he was affiliated with the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, and edited its journal, *Anatolian Studies*, for four decades. A [Wikipedia entry](#) describes his life and achievements.

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[A Bilingual Text concerning Etana](#), from *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 3 (Jul., 1935), pp. 459-466.

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James G. Macqueen, professor at Bristol University and author of many critical books and articles, worked at the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara, and did extensive field work in Turkey.

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[Hattian Mythology and Hittite Monarchy](#), from *Anatolian Studies*, Vol. 9 (1959), pp. 171-188.

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[Nerik and Its "Weather-God"](#), from *Anatolian Studies*, Vol. 30, Special Number in Honour of the Seventieth Birthday of Professor O. R. Gurney (1980), pp. 179-187.

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Šamuḥa and Malatia

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## ŠAMUḪA AND MALATIA<sup>1</sup>

JOHN GARSTANG

The location of ŠamuḪa, a leading hieron mentioned in numerous Hittite texts, is one of the outstanding problems of Hittite geography. Allusions to it are tantalizingly vague; but certain selected contexts, fitted together, seem to point—surprising though it may seem—to the west bank of the Euphrates between Pingan and Malatia, if not to Malatia itself.

That ŠamuḪa stood by the Euphrates is fairly clear, as will be seen from the combination of clues discussed below; but the location at Samsat which I formerly suggested<sup>2</sup> would now seem, from the fresh evidence available, to be too far south. It is known, for example, that in the troublous days of Hattušil II the divine images from Kizzuwadna were sent to ŠamuḪa for safety before the menace of invasion from Armatana.<sup>3</sup> Though the position of this hostile territory is not known, the fact that during the same period of disturbances enemies from Arzawa in the west reached Tuwanuwa, while others from Gašga in the north attained Nenašša, suggests that Armatana must be sought in the south<sup>4</sup> or east. It thus appears that Samsat would almost inevitably be involved in this invasion; indeed, it probably lay within the borders of Greater Kizzuwadna at that time. In any case, the known fact that ŠamuḪa itself fell to raiding Azzians from the far north again points to a more northerly location.

Certain topographical indications, though rather complex, disclose road and river links between Ḫatti and ŠamuḪa which narrow down the area of search. Two texts associate ŠamuḪa with Battiyaṛiga and Arziya. The one seems to connect them by a road which beyond ŠamuḪa proceeds in a westerly direction.<sup>5</sup> The other makes it clear that these three places were also linked together by a partly navigable

<sup>1</sup> This article was inspired by a reading of Goetze's *Kizzuwatna*, reviewed in *JNES*, I (1942), 233–38.

<sup>2</sup> *Index of Hittite Names: BSAJ Suppl'y Papers*, I (1923), 40.

<sup>3</sup> *KBo*, VI, 28.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, pp. 25–26.

<sup>5</sup> *KBo*, IV, 13. The sequence, as given by A. H. Sayce (*Oriens*, I [1926], 21), reads: "Battiyaṛiga, Arziya, Ḫaššikkašnawanta, ŠamuḪa, Zarninuwa, Kaneš, Uššuna, Ḫarziuna. Šallapa. . . ."

river and that by this waterway an exchange of supplies was practicable. Apparently Arziya, which hardly concerns our further argument, lay between the other two, but the references to it have no immediate significance. The relevant passages in the document, which is much mutilated, have recently been clarified by Dr. R. S. Hardy in a fresh translation.<sup>6</sup> They describe the sending of supplies by boat from Battiyariga (and from Arziya) to Šamuḥa—voyages not effected without troublesome incidents, including the grounding of the boat. Incidentally we learn that Šamuḥa, besides being a famous sanctuary, seems also to have been walled and protected by a garrison and that certain constructive works were in progress. It was also near enough to the other places mentioned for a return voyage to have been made forthwith. A first step in attempting to follow up this clue will obviously be to try and localize Battiyariga.

The name "Battiyariga" has a Hurrian (or at least an eastern) appearance—comparable with Išmiriga, Ḫarmuriga, etc., which refer apparently to places beyond the Euphrates in Greater Kizzuwadna.<sup>7</sup> This might suggest a location for Battiyariga also on the southeast border of the Hittite dominions. But the close association of this place with Išuwa in the treaty with the "men of Paḫḫuwa,"<sup>8</sup> while confirming the identity of the river in question with the Euphrates, localizes it above rather than below Malatia. Indeed Paḫḫuwa, from its name and contexts, seems to be identifiable with Pingan, the important bridgehead of northwestern Išuwa. By this way passes the readiest route, followed by the modern railroad, up the valley to Kemakh, site of the classical Camacha and probably, according to Dr. O. Gurney,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *KUB*, XXXI, 79; first published, I believe, by Salonen, *Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien*. I am indebted to Dr. Hardy for permission to quote from his translation, which is not yet published.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, pp. 47–48.

<sup>8</sup> *KUB*, XXIII, 72, a reference for which I am indebted to Dr. Oliver Gurney (in an unpublished manuscript dated 1929).

<sup>9</sup> This fertile suggestion is also culled from Dr. Gurney's manuscript, in which he points out that Kummaha was the scene of a battle in which Tudḫaliya III and Šubbiluliuma of Ḫatti were opposed by the forces of Krannis, king of Ḫayaša. The position of Kemakh suits this context perfectly; for it marks the point where the main route eastward from Ḫatti, which at Pingan crosses to the south bank of the Euphrates, passes to the northern side where we must place the dominion of Azzi-Ḫayaša. A recent visit to the district showed me that the river-crossings in these upper reaches of the great river are few but permanent. Kemakh thus marks a strategic position in local history (cf. Forrer, *Caucasica*, IX, 2).

the Hittite Kummaha, with which both Paḥḫuwa and Išuwa are textually connected.

This general localization of Battiyariga upon the Euphrates between Pingan and Malatia seems to be confirmed by other contexts. Ḫattušil's records tell us that in the reign of his predecessor it had fallen to raiders from Gašga in the north, who established themselves there firmly.<sup>10</sup> Though most long-distance raids of the Gašgans followed separate routes, which show no point of intersection, it is known from Muršil's *Annals* that the raiders from Azzi and Gašgans from Tibya usually followed the same road (by Kannuwaraš and Ištītina) in their marauding adventures into Hittite territory.<sup>11</sup> Presumably they were neighbors and had to share this common exit toward the south from their homelands on the Black Sea coast. This would explain how their independent excursions to the Euphrates might end in the neighboring objectives of Šamuḫa and Battiyariga. In the same record of Ḫattušil we find a roadlink which connects Battiyariga (and hence Šamuḫa) with the central zone of Ḫatti.

While still a prince, Ḫattušil was placed in command of an organized defensive zone on the frontiers of Gašga, which bounded the northern and eastern horizon of the Hittite homelands. His headquarters were at Ḫakpiš,<sup>12</sup> which lay apparently to the east of Ḫattušaš, since Muršil sometimes called in there on his way home from his expeditions in the highlands. It may indeed have been at Alishar, which well satisfies the indications of a large protected military station suitable for winter quarters of the mobile troops. This identification is not, however, essential to our argument. Dispatched with an expeditionary force to the relief of Battiyariga, Ḫattušil encountered the enemy at Ḫaḫḫaš,<sup>13</sup> where he claims to have defeated them. Now the direct route from within the Halys toward the Euphrates passes through Kangal, a natural road center and the modern rail junction near the edge of the highlands south of Sivas. From this point main roads descend eastward to the Euphrates at and below Pingan by way

<sup>10</sup> *Ḫattušil* (ed. Goetze), p. 17, l. 20.

<sup>11</sup> *Muršil's Annals* (ed. Goetze), Year VII, p. 91, ll. 9–13; Year IX, p. 115, ll. 22–23; p. 123, ll. 17, 18, etc.

<sup>12</sup> *Ḫattušil* (ed. Goetze), p. 23, l. 45: "I was king in Ḫakpiš." See further p. 25, ll. 12–13 and p. 35, ll. 42–43.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17, ll. 23–24.

of Divrik and also southeast by the valley of the Kuru Çay, through open highland country of surprisingly downlike character, to the Euphrates at Malatia. The commanding focal position of Kangal on all roads to the Euphrates thus suggests its possible identity with Ḫaḫḫaš of Ḫattušil's record.<sup>14</sup> Happily there is further evidence on this point.

The place-name Ḫaḫḫaš appears in the Cappadocian texts in the Akkadian form Ḫaḫḫum; and this place, Landsberger has pointed out,<sup>15</sup> marked a spot on the way from Asshur where the road forked in the direction of Kaneš. This would be the case at Kangal, if it can be shown that the Assyrian route of the day crossed the river at Malatia. It would also be true of Divrik, if the crossing were above Malatia, as at Çermuk, Keban Maden, Egin, or Pingan itself; but, with the direct crossing by Malatia available, the latter alternatives may be ruled out, as they would involve a considerable detour through difficult country. Nonetheless, Landsberger seems inclined to accept the location of Ḫaḫḫum at Divrik, presumably on account of the apparent identity of the former with the Byzantine Chachon, a strong place taken by Basil when campaigning in this region. According to the record, Chachon would appear to be localized on the east side of the Euphrates opposite Malatia, where it is shown in one of Honigmann's maps.<sup>16</sup> But, as the latter reminds his readers, J. G. C. Anderson long ago pointed out<sup>17</sup> that this part of Basil's campaigns is obviously misplaced and would fit better into a northern rather than an eastern context.

In this view Landsberger apparently concurs, for he locates Chachon, and so Ḫaḫḫum, at Divrik. As stated above, however, this location hardly suits the geographical requirements. It seems indeed to be definitely ruled out by further details of Basil's successes in these parts, among which he captured both Abara and "Aphriche." Now the latter name, Mr. Anderson showed, is simply a misreading for Tepriche, the classical name of Divrik itself, which thus cannot be equated with Chachon. Moreover, the site of Abara also is known to

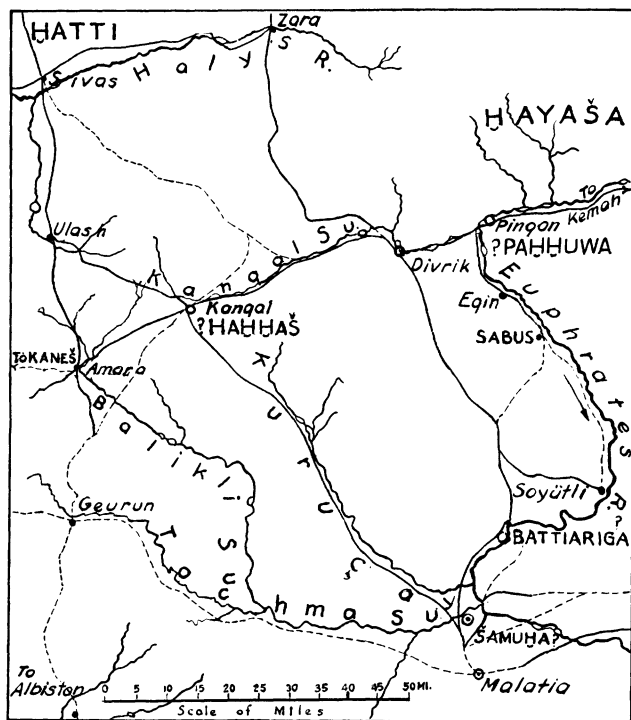
<sup>14</sup> The name Ḫaḫḫaš would, I think, be commonly pronounced Khankhas.

<sup>15</sup> *Belleten, Türk Tarih Kurumu*, III (1939), 216 and 223 (n. 26).

<sup>16</sup> E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches*, pp. 59–60, n. 2.

<sup>17</sup> *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, XVII, 41; also *Class. Rev.*, X, 137, a, and n. 2.

be at Amara, which lies to the west of Kangal about as far as does Divrik to the east. As the road connecting these three places is continuous and provides the only link between Amara and Divrik, it would be practically impossible for Basil to have taken these two places without reducing the third which lay between them. Chachon, then, must be equated with Kangal rather than with Divrik; and, if it



really preserves the Hittite name *Ḫaḫḫum* or *Ḫaḫḫaš*, the identity of this place with Kangal becomes practically certain. The point will be settled if it can be shown that Kangal, like *Ḫaḫḫum*, lay on the normal route from Asshur to Kaneš, or, more precisely (since we have already excluded the upper crossings), whether this route crossed the Euphrates at Malatia. An alternative would be the crossing at Samsat, which was certainly much used under the later Assyrian Empire, though leading through the defiles of Taurus in contrast to the relatively open route by Malatia and Kangal.

For the solution of this problem we repair to the Oriental Institute at Chicago, where, among his other records, Dr. Gelb keeps and maintains a corpus of all the early Hittite place-names, complete in every detail, including the contexts, variants, and the connected lines of route indicated by the texts.<sup>18</sup> From these we learn that Ḫaḫḫum was the center or clearing station of donkey transport in its day, around 2000 B.C. The drivers formed a sort of guild or "union"; the traffic was regulated and organized, and prices were fixed by regulation according to the distance and the danger of the journey. The cost of a trip to Kaneš, for example, was placed at eleven shekels. Among numerous cogent references we single out the following instruction: "If you fear to go to Ḫaḫḫum, go to Uršu"—and herein lies our clue. The position of Uršu has been much debated, but recently both the Hittite scholars in Ankara, Professors Landsberger and Güterbock, have shown reason to locate it near Urfa,<sup>19</sup> a proposal which has gained the support of other scholars.<sup>20</sup> But the position of Urfa leads almost inevitably to the crossing of the Euphrates at Samsat; and the instruction may be interpreted accordingly to mean: if the highroad by Ḫaḫḫum is too dangerous, go by way of Marash and Samsat. It may clearly be inferred that the usual road by Ḫaḫḫum crossed the river at Malatia; and this conclusion is substantiated by plotting, as Professor Gelb has done, the early place-names on the other side, which clearly define a line of road beside the Tigris from Asshur in the direction of Malatia.<sup>21</sup>

The four chief road signs of Ḫaḫḫum, or Ḫaḫḫaš, are now found to correspond exactly with those of Kangal, as may readily be seen by placing them side by side:

Road Signs of Ḫaḫḫaš	Road Signs of Kangal
1. To KANEŠ (south of the Halys)	1. To KÜL TEPE (? via Tonus)
2. To ḪAKPIŠ, (north of the Halys)	2. To ALISHAR and BOĞAZ-KÖI
3. To BATTIYARIGA on the Euphrates	3. To sites below PINGAN via Divrik
4. To ASSHUR via MALATIA	4. To MALATIA by the main road

Regarded from a different standpoint, Ḫaḫḫaš stood at the intersection of two routes: the one from Kaneš eastward to the Euphrates at

<sup>18</sup> I am sincerely indebted to Dr. Gelb for courteously placing this valuable material at my disposal and for help in discussing various points connected with this problem.

<sup>19</sup> Landsberger, *loc. cit.*; Güterbock, *ZA* (N.F.), X, 136 f.

<sup>20</sup> Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, p. 43; Albright, *BASOR*, No. 78, p. 27.

<sup>21</sup> Gelb, *Inscriptions of Alishar*, map at the end.

Pingan, the other from Sivas southward by the highroad to Malatia. Kangal alone marks such a road-crossing, if we exclude the possibility of Sivas itself. This we must do, because Sivas stood upon the Halys on the borders of central Ḫatti, a strategic position which, whatever its name, must have been well known and freely mentioned, while Ḫaḥḥaš occurs rarely in the texts. The fixing of Ḫaḥḥaš (or Ḫaḥḥum) greatly simplifies our further search for Šamuḫa.

Guided by this pointer, we can now follow with more confidence the route by the Euphrates already established: Ḫattušaš or Ḫakpiš: Ḫaḥḥaš: Battiyariga: (Arziya): Šamuḫa, the last three places being on the river. Leaving Kangal in an easterly direction, we descend the valley of the Kangal Çay until, between Divrik and the Euphrates, the route is joined by the valley road from Pingan at a spot marked by a great mound called by the suggestive name Urumia Hüyük. Continuing down the right bank of the Euphrates, we must pass *ex hypothesi* through or near the site of Battiyariga before coming to Šamuḫa. Though we are not aware of any Hittite remains upon our course, the classical sites are well known, for this road was organized for military purposes in both Roman and Byzantine times. The Antonine Itinerary gives a clear record of its more important stations, with mileages that are approximately correct.<sup>22</sup> We come to the river at Egin, a strong position which would seem at first sight to fulfil the indications of Battiyariga. Some twenty miles farther down, near Karapunar, is the probable position of Sabus of the Itinerary, which appears as Sabbu in the Notitia, and as Saba in the Peutinger Table. Though not now marked by any noticeable remains, it is described as a fortified place in Lesser Armenia, on the western bank of the Euphrates, and on the road Trapezus-Satala-Melitene. Here, then, is a position with an ancient name which seems to meet the case of Šamuḫa. Can this be the solution to our problem? The geographical indications certainly point this way; but reflection shows that we must look further.

The site of Sabus, though perhaps near the mark, does not wholly satisfy the conditions. An uncharted and forgotten road station, even though it controls a secondary crossing of the Euphrates, hardly conforms with the time-honored status of the famous *hieron* for which we

<sup>22</sup> The latter part of the route is given as follows: Zimara XVI Teucila XXVIII Sabus XVI Dascusa XXXII Ciaca XVIII Melitene.



may reasonably anticipate a position of strategic importance marked at least by a noble mound. There is also another consideration of topographical importance. The Euphrates, where it bends southward at Pingan, flows tumultuously between rocky walls, and I cannot picture any small craft surviving a voyage in its swirling waters, much less returning against the current. I have not followed its further course, but, to judge from descriptions and the large-scale maps, the gorge continues to confine it until nearing Soyütli, site of the classical Sinis. Below this point the rocky walls give way, and on the eastern side the valley opens; mud banks appear in the river, here much gentler, and we find ourselves in the presence of conditions in which a river voyage would be possible and might involve incidents, such as the grounding of the boat, suggested by the text Dr. Hardy has translated. The next station, Ciaca at Çermuk, may thus represent the site of Battiyariga; it is linked with Kangal by a direct road through Divrik. A small fortress below this may represent Arziya.

The next position is that of Malatia itself, and a riverside site hereabouts would suit the descriptions of these voyages. At this stage in our inquiry we realize with surprise and special interest that the old Hittite name of this historic and strategic site seems to be unknown. The few names embodying the root *Milid* in some form are all localized with certainty elsewhere<sup>23</sup> with the one exception of Maldiyaš. This form appears relatively late in a seemingly Hurrian context which associates it with Išuwa and Paḥḥuwa; but it is very doubtful whether it really reveals the origins and actual incidence of the familiar Meliddu-Melitene, whence Malatia. It is not an old Hittite name, and it is found only in this one text. One may feel certain, however, that the Hittite name of the city which dominated the most important crossing of the Euphrates into Asia Minor must have been well known and freely mentioned, even though the site may not have been all the time in Hittite hands. It is not apparent, however, even in Muwatalli's Prayer (*KUB*, VI, 45-46), in which most of the distant *hiera* are mentioned, with Šamuḥa in the second place. The question arises: "Was

<sup>23</sup> The old name Malita, for example, which appears in the Cappadocian tablets (Gelb, *Alisgar*, No. 54), is placed in a road list between Turḥumit (later Turmitta) and Kaneš, and next to Ušḥania, which, according to *KUB*, XXVI, 43-58, ll. 25 ff., was in Harziuna, a place and district connected with Šallapa. The later form, Malazia, site of a fortress, is linked closely with Ištaḥara and is located in the military zone of Ḫatti on the frontier of Gašga.

Šamuḫa itself at Malatia?" The readiest answer appears to be, "Why not?"

The possibility that Šamuḫa might be located at Malatia opens out a new line of approach to our inquiry. Looking around, we find that circumstantial evidence rather favors this hypothesis. No other reach of the Euphrates, between Erzincan and Samsat, satisfies the conditions of the context quoted. More significant, perhaps, is the high status accorded to the deities of Malatia in the Assembly of the gods depicted in the national sanctuary near Boğaz-Köi. They follow in procession the three chief Hittite gods, forming a group which thus actually occupies the second place, exactly where we should expect to find the gods of Šamuḫa. They are recognized by the unique details of a winged deity which are identical in all respects with those upon a sculptured slab found at Malatia itself.<sup>24</sup> Documents relating to Šamuḫa tell of a goddess with the special name Abara whose companion was a god of the familiar Tarḫun or Teshub type; representations of such a god are a leading feature of the sculptures of both places, in the group with the winged figure at Boğaz-Köi and among the sculptures of Malatia. On this site numerous decorative slabs of religious character have been uncovered more recently in excavations, and they are now in Ankara. They illustrate, in my view, repetitions of a central theme, with marked decline in artistic skill and feeling, suggestive of successive rebuildings of a time-honored shrine. Though none appears to be earlier than the eighth century B.C. (an opinion shared by Professor Gelb), they attest at a glance to a remarkable survival of the old cult motives of Hittite religious art. If the slab portraying the winged goddess is not an old one reused, the evidence of respect for the older tradition is astonishing. In any case, the Lion-Hill at Malatia clearly preserved the memory of a highly revered sanctuary dating from Imperial times, such as would be explained by the proximity of Šamuḫa.

The site of the older shrine and stronghold at Malatia is, however, still to be located. I took the opportunity of a visit, in 1940, to re-examine the scene of the recent excavations and found in the deeper cuttings only traces of the Imperial Age and nothing earlier. Unfor-

<sup>24</sup> *The Hittite Empire*, Pl. XXIV, Nos. 4 and 5L, and pp. 99, 203. The two winged figures are shown together in *Liv. Annals of Arch.*, Vol. VI (1913-14), Pl. XXVIII, 2, 3.

unately, it was not possible under the conditions to explore the ground nearer the river, which flows past at a distance of eight miles from Arslan Tepe. I would look first near the mouth of the Tokhma Su, where the routes from the north converge and cross that river, and on the maps appears the mound called by the suggestive name of Kur Hüyük. It lies some sixteen miles below Çermuk, site of the classical Ciaca, the uppermost point where the river becomes navigable. Some ten and thirteen miles lower down, respectively, are the sites of the classical cities Adaras and Tomisa, which present definite possibilities of an earlier origin, particularly the latter; while between this site and Arslan Tepe the maps show another mound called Kara Tepe, some four miles from the present course of the river, which below Tomisa becomes again unnavigable. There would thus seem to be good reason to look near Malatia for an older site overlooking the most-used crossing of the Euphrates, and so conforming with all the known indications as to ŠamuḪa.

As remarked in my review of Dr. Goetze's *Kizzuwatna*, the localization of ŠamuḪa in the vicinity of Malatia throws a welcome light on the organization of the Hittite highlands, and it will be particularly helpful if the actual site can be determined. The localization also of Battiyaṛiga and Arziya as well as Ḫaḫḫaš or Ḫaḫḫum and places associated therewith, should prove useful to the more detailed study of the highland zone contested by the Gašgans and other rivals. We may even ask ourselves whether the mound called Urumia Hüyük below Pingan may not mark the site of Ḫurma, the holy city so frequently associated with ŠamuḪa in the texts. Their command of the two chief crossings of the Euphrates in these parts lends interest to this suggestion.

The fact that ŠamuḪa was associated in some way with Kussar not only explains to some extent its revered status but indicates broadly an area of search for the ancestral home of the Hittite kings. In such an inquiry the long survival of Hittite cults in the eastern Tauric area, as seen, for instance, in the late symbolism of Malatia and in the "Jupiter" of Doliche, may prove to have peculiar significance.



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Hittite Military Roads in Asia Minor: A Study in Imperial Strategy with a Map

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# HITTITE MILITARY ROADS IN ASIA MINOR

## A STUDY IN IMPERIAL STRATEGY WITH A MAP (PLATE XVII)

THE map which accompanies this article is based largely on a selection of Hittite texts translated and co-ordinated by Dr. O. R. Gurney, with whom I had planned a joint work on Hittite Geography. The outbreak of the war, however, interrupted Dr. Gurney's revision and further researches, and his subsequent absence on military service in Africa has prevented us from considering together the results of my endeavors. The map should, therefore, be regarded as provisional and incomplete. It does, however, indicate some of the strategic roads discussed in this article, and so imparts to the episodes described a sense of reality and scale without which we cannot appreciate their full significance. In general, also, within the limitations mentioned, it represents my personal view of the Hittite world about 1300 B.C., and it is published now in the hope that, pending completion of the joint work, criticism may disclose its failings.

### Preliminary Notes:

On the map, to save space, many names have been shortened, as by omission of duplicated consonants, etc. Thus Tumana for Tummana, the form used in the text. Exceptionally, also, Tuwana (the hieroglyphic form) instead of the textual Tuwanuwa. To facilitate tracing the roads, initial letters have been added to indicate the positions of some Hittite stations, as explained in the footnotes.

In the text, diacritical marks are omitted in the spelling of Hittite names. Most readers are aware that the Hittite S was pronounced Sh and is usually represented by Š; also that the H was hard, almost Kh, and usually shown as Ḫ. Since this applies to all occurrences of these letters in Hittite names, it seems unnecessary to use the marks in a non-technical article of this kind, while there are considerable compensations in clarity and economy.

In the footnotes, from which most familiar references are excluded, standard abbreviations are used to represent current publications. Texts which have been translated and edited by Dr. Goetze are regarded as standard, and are referred to when necessary simply by the page number: they include the *Annals* of Mursil (abbreviated as G.MAns), the *Memoirs* of Hattusil (G.Hat.), and the adventures of Maduwattas (G.Mad). Other abbreviations are: G.Kiz. for Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*; G.HE. for Garstang, *Hittite Empire*, and R.HG. for Ramsay's *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, an inexhaustible fountain of topographical information.

### I. INTRODUCTORY: RIVALS OF THE HITTITES

At the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C., when the fortunes of the Hittites began to revive under the genius of Subbiluliuma, and their archives begin to be descriptive, we find Hittite domination challenged by three separate powers, each established in a corner of the Anatolian peninsula with access to the sea. In the

Southwest, among the lakes and mountains of Pisidia, we locate Arzawa, with its capital city on the Lycian coast. In the Southeast, where Taurus and Anti-Taurus provided Cataonia with its majestic ramparts, scholars now agree that we must place Kizzuwadna,<sup>1</sup> which controlled the Cilician coasts and the port of Tarsus. In the Northeast, though here on less familiar ground, we must seek the territory of the united kingdom of Azzi and Hayasa, which barred the way to Hittite expansion on that side. The Northwest was largely *terra incognita* to the Hittite kings and so does not come within our purview.

The challenge was evidently of long standing, and, like the stout resistance to absorption which ensued, it was fostered by the physical peculiarities of the areas in question. In general, the plateau of Asia Minor, at three to four thousand feet above sea-level is bound together as it were by a rim of high mountains which form an almost continuous chain and, on the north and south, descend in places abruptly to the sea. This feature has throughout history naturally tended to emphasize racial and cultural differences between the coastal plains and the interior. Obviously, also, though perhaps insensibly, it would breed in favorable retired spots a spirit of independence which under the stimulus of racial feeling or maritime relations might flare up into actual opposition to the ruling power. Illustrations stand out in high relief at certain epochs, notably the stout resistance to Roman authority offered by the Cilician pirates and by the native kings of Pontus. The "corners" of the plateau already mentioned mark such retreats, where the coastal mountains bend or break and merge with others in a way which offered to the local people exceptional opportunities to defend themselves against aggression by land or sea. By contrast, the open estuaries of the western coast seemed almost to invite invasion, and the Achaeans (textually, the people of Ahhiyawa<sup>2</sup>) took full advantage of these openings. In this connection, it can hardly be without significance that the Hittites, who were essentially an inland and alpine folk, developed and maintained a highroad from their capital to the western coast. Its course is well defined by their monuments, some of which are military in character;<sup>3</sup> and it clearly passed outside their normal domestic boundaries.

The Hittite homelands lay, as all know, beside the Halys river (the Hittite Marassantia)<sup>4</sup> and the position of two well known Hittite cities illustrates this statement. These are: the capital itself, Hattusas, which stood above the village of Boghaz-Köi, high up on the watershed between the Halys and the Iris, or more precisely on the divide between their respective tributaries, the Cappadox and the Scylax; and Kanesh, an old trading center on the south side of the Halys, some ten miles from the river. It is thus clear that the Marassantia was not regarded as a boundary—

Originally, to judge from its linguistic affinities, a Hurrian state (on which see G.Kiz., pp. 36 ff.), with a population, or at least a military element of Mongoloid appearance, to judge by the Egyptian representations, usually significant (Cf. G.HE., pl. IIIa).

<sup>2</sup> In view of the associations and contacts of the Lukka-landers, identified with the Egyptian Ruku later in this article (Section II), the identity of the Ahhiyawans of the Hittite texts with the Ekweh of the Egyptian records and with the Achaeans of Homeric legend seems to be established.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. R.HG., pp. 30 ff.; also, for illustrations, G.HE., pls. XIIIa, XXXVI and fig. 12.

<sup>4</sup> The regal status of Subbiluliuma "beside the Marassantia" is confirmed in the preamble to his treaty with Mattiuaza, the Mitannian prince: Weid., *Pol.Dok.*, p. 41.

# HITTITE ASIA MINOR

B L A C K



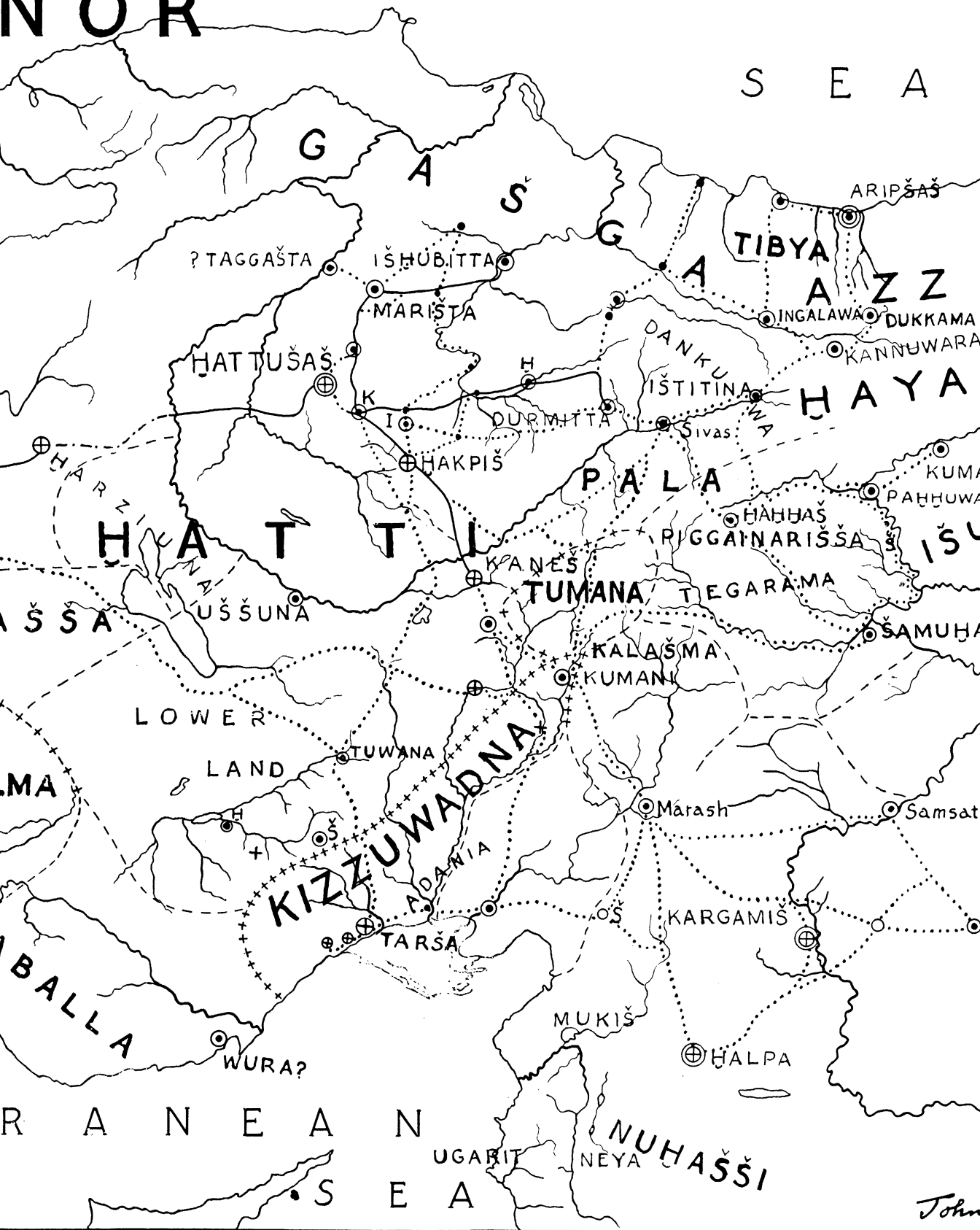
W.W.M.

A = Atriya  
I = Ialanda  
W = Waliwanda

H = Hapanuwa.  
B = Buranda. W = Walmaa

# NOR

# S E A



H = Hubišna  
 K = Katapa.  
 I = Ištahara.  
 Š = Šalia  
 H = Hattena

John



A

PAŠ

Z I

KKAMA

JWARAŠ

A Š A

KUMAHA

HUWA

IŠUWA

MUHA?

samsat

HARANA

John Garstang

15. V. 42.

that would indeed have been inconsistent with the Hittites' practice—but that its whole basin was claimed as their domain. It is true that its upper reaches were contested by the people of Hayasa and others, and that its lower reaches passed through the coastal ranges into the lands of Gasga, home of their perpetual enemy of the North, but the disposition of the Hittite monuments bears ample witness to the Hittite occupation of the middle basin as a whole. It also suggests a sharp division between the zones of Gasga and of Hatti, in that no such monuments have been found in the basin of the Iris beyond the common watershed. The road which follows this divide thus marks a line of frontier, and it will be found in the course of our discussion to have formed the backbone of Hattusil's frontier command. The Hittite capital was not itself a natural road center, but it occupied a defensible position not far from the crossing point at Yuzgat of two ancient trade routes: one from the northern coast at Samsun towards Cilicia and Syria; the other from the upper Euphrates westward to the Aegean Sea along the road already mentioned.

Two other areas were claimed by the Hittites as their national heritage, namely the lowland region east of Konia, as far as the basin of the Kizilja Su with Tuwana,<sup>5</sup> bounded on the south by the bend of Taurus; and also some part of the highland zone between the Halys and the Euphrates. For these areas also the textual implications are corroborated in a general way by the range of imperial monuments which fringe the central plain and the inner borders of the eastern Highlands.<sup>6</sup> In the latter zone it would appear that effective occupation by the Hittites was limited to the western side of the watershed of the Euphrates, notwithstanding repeated efforts of successive kings to keep open their lines of communication centered on Sivas with old established sites such as Samuha and Battiarigga upon the Great River itself.<sup>7</sup> The recognition of this natural frontier as an extension of Hattusil's command localizes the important districts of Pala and Tummana, formerly organized as a single zone by Subbiluliuma. These were backed by a strategic road which can be traced, and it was followed in part by Subbiluliuma on one of his distant campaigns towards the Southeast. We shall track him along this route, though not without encountering difficulties, as far as the borders of Kizzuwadna, where the strategic foresight of this great empire-builder is displayed at its best.

It will have been noticed that none of the three major zones of the Hittites' territory afforded them ready access to the sea. In this respect the advantage lay with their hereditary rivals, and it is not surprising to find traces, nebulous as yet, of attempts to overcome this disability. In each case, so far as we can see, military considerations seem to have supplied the motive, though doubtless maritime rela-

<sup>5</sup> Tuwana is recognized by Profs. Gelb and Güterbock as the hieroglyphic form of Tuwanuwa, thus establishing the identity with Tyana. I use the shorter word as being more suggestive.

<sup>6</sup> Imperial monuments in the eastern highlands range from KaraKuyu near Virenshehr to Fraktin on the lower Zamanti Su. Those found farther east, e.g. on the route via Azizia to Malatia, as well as nearly all those found at the latter site, seem to be post-imperial in date, perhaps as late as the eighth century B.C. This opinion is shared by Prof. Gelb, who has explored this road, which he found to be very difficult. See, further, his *Hittite Hieroglyph. Monuments*, esp. pp. 35–36.

<sup>7</sup> The location of Samuha is discussed in a separate article by the writer, under the title "Samuha and Malatia," in a current number of the *JNES*. 1942. On Pala and Tummana, see below, sections IV and V.

tions would follow the acquirement of any seaport. Elementary strategy, one imagines, would suggest the importance of preventing any two of the greater rivals from uniting; or alternatively, if their territory were already contiguous, the necessity of driving a solid wedge between them. This applies with special force to the borderland between Kizzuwadna and Arzawa, which a sequence of the age of Telepinus (. . . Adania-Arzawia) <sup>8</sup> suggests to have been narrow, if it does not indicate the actual contiguity of these two countries. Subbiluliuma's treaty with Sunasura, however, makes it clear that while the district of Adania was included within the domain of Kizzuwadna, as probably were Tarsus (Tarsa), Kazanli (Kikkipra), and Mersin (?Pitura),<sup>9</sup> the territory on the outer or western side of the frontier from the sea at Lamia, upwards as far as Salia, was expressly reserved to the Hittite. If Lamia be correctly located at Lamos, the time-honored terminus of the Cilician frontier,<sup>10</sup> the Hittites would thus reserve the Calycadnus valley, which gives relatively easy access to the plain of Konia (the Lower Land) by way of Karaman. Their contact would thus be assured with the Mediterranean by the little harbor of Myra, which may thus represent the port of Wura whither supplies were to be sent from Egypt in a time of famine.<sup>11</sup> Thus the frontier of Arzawa, represented in this case by its border state Haballa, would be held further west. The Hittites' contact with the Black Sea was restrained by the constant hostility of their northern foes, the Gassians; but if a report which reached Ankara a little while ago be confirmed, a two-meter deposit of Hittite pottery, said to have been found at Samsun, would seem to indicate a period during which the Hittites made use of that port.<sup>12</sup> Another case, still unconfirmed, suggests a military penetration. This is found in the *Annals* of Mursil's seventh year, when that vigorous leader overran the land of Tibya, and in so doing apparently reached the sea at Ordu. By this stroke he drove his wedge between the rival kingdom of Azzi and his other adversaries along that coast, while securing a strategic advantage for his further operations (as described in Sect. III).

As for the "royal road" to the West, we have no present means of determining its

<sup>8</sup> G.Kizz. p. 57. In a recent review of this admirable book (in *JNES*, 1942), I suggested that as soundings in the city of Adana had failed to disclose any trace of Hittite origin, possibly the site had been moved since Hittite times from some more suitable position in the neighboring hills. Miss Hetty Goldman writes in a personal letter to tell of the discovery, during her exploration of the region, of a very likely mound of imposing appearance at the foot of the mountains, some 12 miles up the river from modern Adana.

<sup>9</sup> The sequence is developed by Goetze, *Kizz.*, pp. 54-56, but the suggestion that the fortress of Mersin may represent the site of Pitura is mine. Pitura stood on the Kizzuwadnan side of the frontier opposite Lamia; and Sunassura was tacitly allowed by the terms of the treaty to keep its fortifications in a state of repair. Cf. Goetze, *op. cit.*, p. 51. The fortress, which followed the Hittite model, seems to have been repaired (at level VI A) about that time. Cf. *LAAA*. xxvi, p. 38; pls. XLV, LXXXIV.

<sup>10</sup> The Lamos river is said by Strabo to have marked the boundary of Cilicia Tracheia. This, the simplest and most plausible interpretation of the boundary terminus, is adopted by Goetze, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Fo. *MDOG*. 63, p. 5. For the Egyptian parallels, cf. the Karnak Insc. of Merneptah, L 24; Meyer *Gesch.* i, p. 530; Bilabel, *Gesch.*, p. 118; for these references I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Sidney Smith. Hittite access to a port on the southern coast associated with Haballa is suggested by a mutilated text translated by Forrer, *Klio* xxx, p. 165.

<sup>12</sup> The port of Sinope, not far to the west, and connected with Samsun by a coastal road, was one of the earliest to be mentioned in Greek tradition. Cf. *R.HG.*, p. 28; Strabo xii, ii, 10; *G.HE.* 75.

main purpose or objective. Doubtless as a trade route it was very ancient, and presumably it made for the sea at the great harbor of Smyrna. It also sent a branch over Tmolus to the site of Ephesos. Its chief southern arm, however, led down the Maeander valley, and we shall see that it was used by Mursil in his efforts to prevent the political union of Arzawa with the incoming Achaeans, who had established a center of intrigue in the important coastal city of Milawatas (otherwise Milawandas). This place was visited by Mursil in person and the tracing of the stages on his journey, from the records, provides us with a most instructive problem.

From these glimpses of the broad strategic situation of Hatti in relation to contemporary societies upon the plateau, we turn now to examine some special cases from a nearer standpoint. It should be noted that, in so doing, it is not so much our purpose to demonstrate the geographical identifications suggested by the map, as to illustrate the interest and importance of working out a map which takes full account of the physical and topographical features and the permanent road systems of the country. We begin with Arzawa and the Southwest, because that zone stands apart, its problems are relatively free from complications, while the roads are few and well defined.

## II. MURSIL'S PENETRATION OF ARZAWA

Early relations between Arzawa and Hatti are obscure, but it is known from various contexts referring to the "dark age" for Hatti before Subbiluliuma that Arzawa had at that time divided most of the Hittite homelands with the Gasga folk from the North.<sup>13</sup> The latter seem, in fact, to have crossed the Halys and reached Nenassa, while the Arzawans advanced their frontier as far as Tuwana.<sup>14</sup> Both adversaries were forced by Subbiluliuma to withdraw from these advanced positions, though not without stubborn resistance which made it necessary for him to retake the latter by assault.<sup>15</sup> However, it would seem that the boundary of Arzawa was now pushed back to the western border of the Lower Land, where it is found in the age of Mursil. Records of this king <sup>16</sup> tell of the dispatch of an expedition from the Lower Land against Haballa, the frontier province of Arzawa on that side. Greater Arzawa is disclosed in the *Annals* as comprising a central kingdom of that name, fronting the sea, and enclosed on the land side by a number of buffer states. Of these, Haballa, as we have seen, faced the Hittite Lower Land and so formed the eastern member of the combine; Mira and Kuwalia, bordered by the rivers Siyanti and Astarpa, lay over against Sallapa, whence Mursil launched his great campaign, while the Land of the River Seha, now, but not originally, a member of the confederacy, lay between the central province and the western sea.

Such was the organization that confronted Mursil, and in view of the strength of the enemy's position, the campaign recorded in the *Annals* of his third and fourth

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Cavaignac, *Subbiluliuma et son temps*, 1932, p. 29 f.

<sup>14</sup> Clearly shown in G.Kizz., p. 25, *ap.* K Bo. vi, 28. If Nenassa be the Nanassus of Ptolemy in Garsauritis, located at or near Nenizi (a situation supported by its context in KUB. vi, 45), and Tuwana or Tuwanawa be Tyana, there would, in fact, remain in Hittite hands within the area indicated only the strip of territory lying in the basin of the stream (Hylas Fl. on Kiepert's map) which flows into lake Tatta from the east.

<sup>15</sup> Cavaignac, *op. cit.*, p. 38. This reading, Goetze tells me, is open to question.

<sup>16</sup> KUB. xix, 22: a reference and translation culled from the MSS. of my collaborator, Dr. O. Gurney.

years must be recognized as a notable achievement. In this the young king, supported by two allies, invaded the territory of Arzawa, and after a decisive battle near the frontier, broke the enemy force into three groups which he proceeded to follow up and destroy one by one. The further story is illustrated by topographical allusions. One group of the fugitives took refuge on the almost impregnable hill stronghold of Buranda, where they defied him throughout the winter. A second sought safety in the rocky shelters of Mt. Arinnanda, which is described as very rugged and descending steeply into the sea. A third, including the crown prince who had commanded the routed army, fled to rejoin the king (who was ill) in his capital city Apasas. This also stood by the sea, and when Mursil in pursuit reached the spot, he found the fugitives had escaped with the ailing king to a nearby island.<sup>17</sup> This attractive narrative offers a number of topographical suggestions. Its interest would be greatly enhanced if by their help we could visualize the scenes of these episodes and appreciate the distances involved—still more so, if we could identify some places and set them on the map. This, I now think, a combination of clues will enable us to do.

The effective starting point for this campaign was Sallapa. Here Mursil was joined by his brother from Carchemish, and the site has usually been sought somewhere in the vicinity of Konia, as being convenient for the meeting and leading in the general direction of Arzawa. But in neither of the records of operations from the Lower Land against the Arzawan frontier (known to be Haballa) is there any reference to Sallapa; nor indeed is a single name common to the two contexts. Obviously the settings were quite different. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that, owing to the lie of the land, there is no direct road westward into the territory of Arzawa proper from anywhere in the vicinity of Konia. The line of the modern railroad, which makes a long detour northward to gain the Maeander valley, shows this clearly, and the only alternative is the southern coast road. This being so, Mursil must have followed a more northerly route on his way to Milawatas on the western coast. In the light of these considerations, the criteria governing the location of Sallapa may be restated in simple terms as follows: Sallapa stood on Mursil's route from Hattusas towards the western coast. It marked a road junction, where the route from Carchemish came in, and from which Mursil led the combined force against the frontier of Arzawa by way of Aura. To avoid confusing the issues, let us consider these items separately, beginning with Mursil's route towards the West.

The readiest and practically the only road from Hattusas towards the West followed the ancient trade route already mentioned; and it can be traced, as seen above, from the imperial Hittite monuments found along its course. As the foundation of the later "royal road," it has been much studied and its track is well defined. After crossing the Halys, it passes below the Hittite hill-station and sacred sculptures of Giour Kalesi. Then, crossing the Sekeria (or Sakaria) river, it winds around the foot of a well known mountain <sup>18</sup> towards Sivri-Hissar, the modern road center

<sup>17</sup> I follow throughout, and acknowledge my indebtedness to, the now standard translation and edition of Mursil's *Annals* by Dr. A. Goetze. This work is accessible to all students in *MVAeG* 38, 1933, vi, and for this reason detailed references are mostly omitted.

<sup>18</sup> Mt. Dindymus.

of the whole region. At this point, represented on the classical maps by Pessinus, famous *hieron* and road center, we pause, recalling that the account of Mursil's march towards Arzawa mentions successively a river called in Hittite the Sehiria, (or Sehiriya) and the mountain of Lawasa, just before reaching Sallapa.<sup>19</sup> The similarity of name and setting arrests attention. Can Sivri-Hissar, road center and site of an ancient shrine, on the normal route towards the West, represent the Hittite Sallapa? It certainly satisfies the conditions, and a glance at the map will show that the local roads also seem to suit the other contexts involving Sallapa. Furthermore, a version of the most ancient name of Sivri-Hissar, before the rise of Pessinus, was actually Spalia.<sup>20</sup> The equation seems to be complete and perfect, and accordingly I place Sallapa at this point on the route. Continuing on our course toward the West, through the pleasant glades and pine-clad hills of Phrygia, we cross the watershed between the Sangarius and Maeander, and approach the latter as we near the old site of Ceramon Agora.<sup>21</sup> Here the road forks. Its northern branch, avoiding the headwaters of the Cayster, passed the still embryo site of Sardis, and so by way of Sipylus and KaraBel reached the coast at Phocaea and Ephesos. The other branch, which claims more attention, kept to the Maeander valley, and so found a natural terminus at Miletos, which in Hittite times, before the estuary became silted up, would stand almost upon the open sea.

Milawatas, the terminal objective of Mursil's march, also stood close to the sea, and, as it was a focus of Achaean intrigue and activity, the sea in this case was most probably the Aegean. Milawatas and Miletos thus seem to come quite readily together; and though we have learned to mistrust name resemblances in general, particularly in isolated cases, the identity of these two is supported by circumstantial evidence pointing independently to the same conclusion. For Mursil's line of approach to this place was marked by two other site names in the sequence: Waliwanda-Ialanda-Milawatas, and the sites suggested by the classical equivalents of these other names, namely Alabanda and Alinda, mark an actual route toward Miletos parallel with the Maeander.<sup>22</sup> We cannot reject the significance of these pointers. Another detail of agreement is worth noting. The site of Miletos has been well excavated, and it shows abundant traces of Mycenaean relations which correspond well with the record of Achaean penetration in the fourteenth century B.C. Moreover, the survival of a group of Hittite names in their later Carian forms,

<sup>19</sup> G.MAns., pp. 45 (l. 24); 47 (l. 15); 49 (l. 7).

<sup>20</sup> R.HG., p. 223. Variant forms are: Spanias, Spaleias, and Palias.

<sup>21</sup> Opinions seem to have differed as to the precise location of this site. Kiepert placed it at Suzus Kõi, Ramsay at Hadji K, but the distance between these is insignificant. J. G. Anderson, whose map is most trustworthy, agrees with Kiepert. The road fork is indicated in our map by an open circle (below the S of UILUSA).

<sup>22</sup> These sites are indicated on our map by their initial letters, on the dotted road approaching Milawatas. The river can be crossed directly at Aidin, classical Tralles, marked on the map with A (for Atriya). The road from Alabanda to Alinda is described in that valuable and scholarly work, Murray's *Handbook to Asia Minor*, pp. 116-7. An alternative way to Miletos from Alinda, indeed the better road, passed by Mylasa, the most ancient residence of the princes of Caria. This may be the site of Hittite Abbawiya, which lay on a route between Ialanda and Milawatas: it was approached by a hill climb, a topographical detail in agreement with the description of the alternative route mentioned. Cf. Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 117. The text, from KUB xiv, 3, col. I, is translated by Sommer, in *Ahh. Wck.*, pp. 3-5.

though quite exceptional, seems to be borne out by other cases. In the same context and association, for example, the name Hursanassa, which appears more than once, equates well with Chersonesos, the name applied by the Greeks to the Carian promontory south of Miletos. The resemblance in this case is more than superficial, for the stem of the Hittite word may mean "head," and so give to the name the meaning "headland," as in Greek usage. The identity in this case can therefore be accepted, and it provides a parallel which renders credible the equally transparent survival of the name Milawatas in the classical Miletos. In view of these indications, and in the absence of any rival claim for the position, Milawatas is placed on the map at the site of Miletos, and may be regarded as a point more than tentatively fixed. Mursil's route towards the western coast is now partially defined as follows:

HATTUSAS : (Giour- : SALLAPA : WALIWANDA : IALANDA : MILAWATAS.  
BoğazKöi : Kalesi) : Spalia : Alabanda : Alinda : Miletos.

Other topographical points of interest might be adduced, but we must be content with two. Milawatas appears to have been the recognized center of an autonomous state or district, on the border of which was a fortress called Atriya. Contexts show this stronghold to have been not very far from Ialanda, but lower down. These indications are scanty, but they suit well the position of Tralles at Aidin, the strongest fortress in the lower Maeander valley. Alinda, also, which we have identified with Ialanda, was described by Strabo as one of the strongest places in Caria: it was poised on a high rock in a "steep and impressive" position—details which accord well with the Hittite contexts. More cogent to our present enquiry is the fact that Ialanda was grouped in the texts with other cities of the Lukka or Luqqa lands, including Hursanassa.<sup>23</sup> The localization of the Lukka lands affects the question of Mursil's strategy, for matters concerning the Lukka men called for his intervention in the affairs of Milawatas, and the escape of some of his subjects from Hursanassa and its sister cities into Arzawa led him ultimately to draw the sword. If, then, we have correctly or approximately localized Ialanda, Hursanassa and Milawatas, not to mention other sites which would involve more discussion, it follows that the Lukka lands occupied at least a good part of the Carian coast.<sup>24</sup> Mursil is thus shown to have held radical interests in this most distant part of the peninsula, and it is possible to discern something of his motive in declaring war.

The location of the Lukka lands on the Carian coast carries indeed implications of wide interest and significance. The possible identity of the Lukka men with the sea-roving Luku or Ruku of contemporary Egyptian records suggests itself, and indeed the creeks and harbors of this coast provided ideal bases, remote from the center of political authority. That Lycians, the Lukioi of Homer, did have a traditional home in Caria is recorded by Strabo,<sup>25</sup> who could not readily explain their presence or that of the Cilicians and Mysians in the vicinity of Troy, having in

<sup>23</sup> Dr. Gurney's notes on this question are full and clear: they confirm my early impressions, which I could not develop, owing to inadequate documentation. Cf. G.HE., p. 179 and the map, p. 171.

<sup>24</sup> This seems to me to result also logically from the complete scheme of interrelations between all these states in the West which Dr. Gurney has sorted from the texts. It is the more unfortunate that we cannot work it out together.

<sup>25</sup> Strabo xii, viii, 4. Cf. also xiv, iii, 3: "the poets . . . give the name Lycians to the Carians."

mind the final places of settlement to which they gave their names. Egyptian sources also record the presence of Mesa and Kelekesh, as well as Luka, in the Hittite ranks at the battle of Kedesh.<sup>26</sup> Now the positions of Mesa and Karkisa, though not fixed with precision, are limited by the evidence of their interrelations in the texts to the same western zone, and more particularly to fairly close contact with Mira and Seha respectively, as well as jointly with Uilusa. The latter state is placed centrally on our map, astride the vital junction on the highroad to the West, a strategic position by the Siyanti river which would explain not only how the loyal Alaksandus earned the expressions of gratitude showered on him by Mursil, but also how it was that the faithless Maduwattas, who later occupied the district,<sup>27</sup> could claim to be the sentinel and guardian of the empire. However that may be, Masa, Karkisa, and the Lukka lands are seen to have formed a connected group, which the documents show to have been linked also by political relations. So does the background to the Homeric story of the Trojan war gradually emerge from the mists that have too long obscured the historical aspect of the great epic.

Though the documentation is not yet sufficient to develop more fully the pre-Homeric picture,<sup>28</sup> the rôle played by the men of Lukka in the history of those times is becoming clear. Not only did they take part as land troops in the battles of Kedesh and Troy, but, throughout the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries—the period of the Hittite Empire—they appear as ringleaders in piratical adventures carried out in concert with one or more of their neighbors. In Egyptian records they figure among the sea rovers as early as the Amarna period. Later in the century they appear again on the Egyptian horizon, this time in company with Mesa and Kelekesh, doubtless from Masa and Karkisa. Frequently, it is said, they raided Cyprus, and in one such expedition, about 1230 B.C., they are associated with the “Ekwesh,” who are identified with the Ahhiyawans by a parallel record in the Hittite archives.<sup>29</sup> The organizing center of this combination we have found at Milawatas on the estuary of the Maeander. It seems also hardly possible to doubt that these Ekwesh-Ahhiyawans were in reality Achaeans. The allusion by Diomedes and Glaucus, in the *Iliad*,<sup>30</sup> to a former comradeship between their Achaean and Lycian ancestors may well refer to the days when their respective progenitors from Ahhiyawa and Lukka roamed the sea together in search of booty and adventure.

In view of the duration and ever increasing range of the organized piracy based on the Lukka lands, it is reasonable to infer that the coastal cities of that area must have grown rich on their spoils. Consequently, it may be that Mursil's anxiety to retain his grip on these distant cities was not altogether disinterested. Strategically, none the less, his motive was sufficiently impelling. He could not ignore the danger to his interests and indeed his throne, should the Achaeans enlarge their footing and join hands in a hostile combine with the Arzawans, who, on their side, were already

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Breasted, *AR*, iii, 309, 312. “Pedes,” mentioned in the latter list, may represent the contingent from Pitassa. For Egyptian drawings of these western allies, cf. G.HE., pl. I Ib and III b. Cf. also Goetze, *Kleinasion zur Hethiterzeit*, p. 22.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. G.Mad., pp. 25, 31.

<sup>28</sup> In this connection, note the significant mention of Kēteioi in *Odyssey* xi, 521. Cf. G.HE., pp. 43, 172.

<sup>29</sup> *B.A.R.* iii, 579; Fo. *MDOG*. 63, p. 21 f.; KUB. xiv, 1; G.Mad., p. 16 f.

<sup>30</sup> *Iliad* ii, 815–17.



encroaching on the coveted Hittite territory between them.<sup>31</sup> Such a combine was actually in the making, and clearly lay behind the formal *casus belli*, when Mursil decided to draw the sword against his nominal vassal, the Arzawan king.

Returning now to Sallapa at Sivri Hissar, and viewing the situation afresh from the Hittite standpoint, we see that the roads that led to the southern and western sea-boards, by the valleys of the Calycadnus and the Maeander respectively, formed strategic barriers against the expansion of Arzawa. To compare them, however, with military scissors or pincers would hardly be appropriate, as we do not find any record of an attack against Arzawa proper by those ways, though it is clear that the Hittite king maintained and used them, directly or through the medium of loyal vassals,<sup>32</sup> for the protection of his imperial interests. In the campaign before us, moreover, the attack seems to have been frontal and directed against the heart of the enemy's country from the nearest vulnerable position on his frontier.

After he had been joined by the contingent from Carchemish, Mursil led the combined force southwards to Aura, which — as Dr. Gurney pointed out — identifies itself readily with the classical Amorium.<sup>33</sup> There he was joined by another ally, the loyal king of Mira, who reported a large concentration of enemy troops by the Astarpa river which marked the frontier ahead and so equates with the inland Cayster. To avoid this force, the king of Mira must have crossed the frontier farther west, as might be done at Afion Kara Hissar, whence there is a direct road to the site of the rendezvous. This, indeed, seems likely, for the king is credited with having just defeated an enemy contingent at Hapanuwa, and this place, we learn later in the narrative, was a frontier post, restored at the close of hostilities by Mursil in the interest of his loyal vassal. Its name, Hapanu or Hapanuwa, seems to be perpetuated in the real form of the modern name, Afion,<sup>34</sup> while the "Black Fort" which once formed the acropolis of the classical city and still dominates the place, may be seen from our photograph fig. 1 to be crowned by the remains of a mediaeval fortress. In this are traces of megalithic walling, which may well mark the line of older Hittite defenses.

Mursil had concentrated at Aura for the coming test a great army of charioteers, archers, and infantry, and the final onslaught on the enemy positions must have been impressive. Unfortunately, no tactical details are on record, but the final battle was decisive. It took place by the Astarpa river at Walmaa,<sup>35</sup> a name which possibly survives in the classical Holmoi, a little way to the south, though a position which more directly opposed the crossing of the frontier river would seem more likely. In any case, the day was lost for Arzawa, whose united forces broke and fled before the swift-moving Hittites, and sought the safety of their mountain strongholds. One

<sup>31</sup> Note particularly the alienation of the Seha River land, which does not appear to have formed part historically of the domain of Arzawa; also the menace of an attack on Ialanda.

<sup>32</sup> E.g., Alaksandus of Uilusa, and Mashuilas, king of Mira, Mursil's ally in this campaign.

<sup>33</sup> A variant form, Aiōrion, is noted by Ramsay, HG. tab. f, p. 223.

<sup>34</sup> The modern tendency to write this name Afium is an assimilation to the word Opium, the cultivation of the poppy being a local industry.

<sup>35</sup> The spelling Walmaa, though perhaps explainable on other grounds, distinguishes this name from that of the district Walma, and it may have some special significance. Cf. Alaassas, a village in Harziuna, which equates well with Aliassos; also Uilusa and Uilusia.

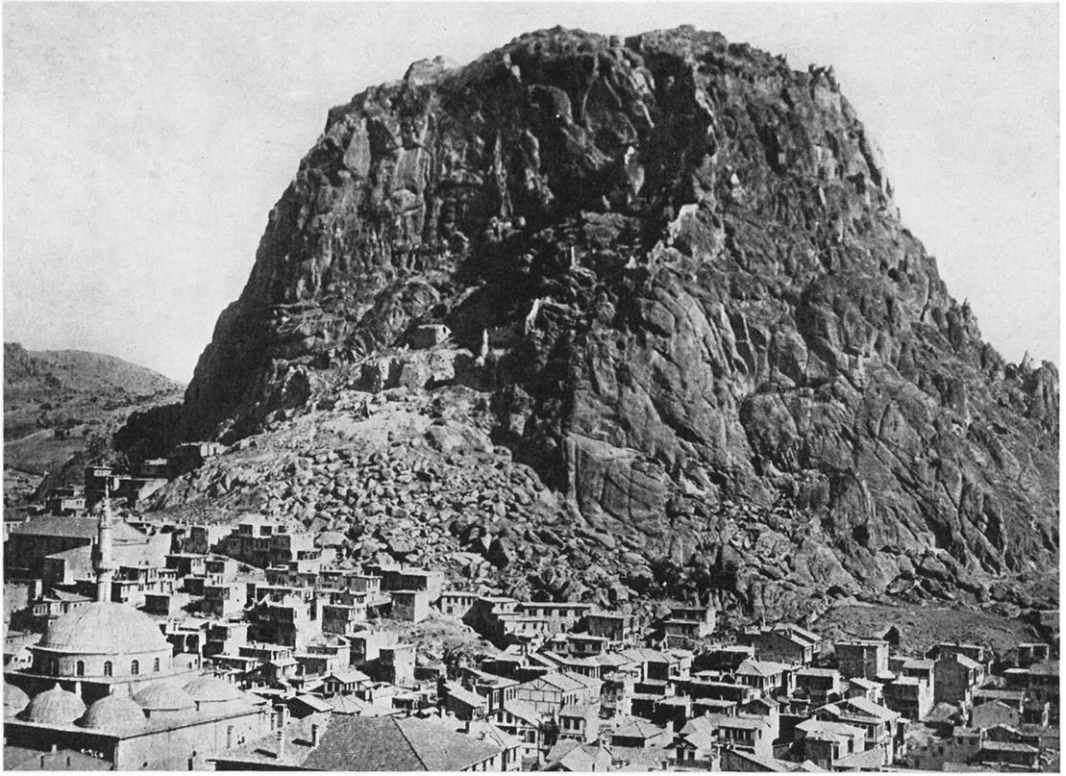


FIG. 1.—THE BLACK ROCK FORT OF AFION KARA HISSAR ON THE INLAND CAYSTER FL.: POSSIBLY THE HITTITE FORTRESS OF HAPANUWA ON THE RIVER ASTARPA  
(Courtesy of Hamit Zubeyr Kosay, Director of the Service of Antiquities in Turkey)



FIG. 2.—PINGAN, POSSIBLY THE HITTITE PAHḪUWA, THE BRIDGE HEAD OF NW IŠUWA

contingent, separating from the rest, took refuge on the hill station of Buranda, which may be appropriately equated with the acropolis of Celaenae, a position deemed by Alexander the Great to be impregnable in his day. Its situation is indeed both imposing and strategically important. Placed at the mouth of a glen, at an altitude of 2800 feet, it commanded the main road from Holmoi and the Cayster (by which the fugitives must have come), as well as the valley road to the west and a main route towards the south. It is perhaps not without significance that a cave at the foot of this hill is associated in classical legend with a combat between Marsyas, who would be a local hero, and Apollo, with whom the Hittite storm god was not infrequently identified. Unfortunately, the topographical details given are not sufficient to identify the site definitely, but as the stronghold would be well known to all the people of the country as offering the best chance of safety, and lay beside a road leading from the scene of the disastrous battle, the identification seems probable, especially as no other place that so completely satisfies the conditions can be located within the area of search.<sup>36</sup>

Meanwhile, the bulk of the defeated Arzawans were swept on southwards by the pursuers, making use, we may suppose, of the several routes which follow the natural fall of the rivers of Pisidia towards the Mediterranean. Arrived at the coast, a hundred and fifty miles as the crow flies from the scene of the battle, they would find themselves driven into converging routes down the eastern coast of the Lycian promontory, to the foot of the Chelidonian ridge. This mountain, like the Arinnanda<sup>37</sup> of the narrative, is steep and high and craggy, and, as is well known to navigators in these waters, it descends at its southern tip below the sea (to form the Hiera Acra). Moreover, the name Arinna can be claimed as Lycian, being found in differing forms on a local coin and on the obelisk of Xanthos. Probably it means "spring": the plateau which tops this historic mountain is well supplied with springs, and offers unlimited opportunities for shelter and defense. Here, then, is a mountain refuge conforming in all material respects with Mt. Arinnanda of the record, where the second batch of routed Arzawans (to the number, it is said, of 15,000) sought safety, and were captured only after a siege by Mursil's generals.

A track which crosses the same ridge near its southern end leads down on its western side to Anti-Phellus. This ancient protected site is found lying snugly by the north side of a navigable harbor to which a long arm of rock serves as a natural breakwater, while the picturesque island of Castelorizo looms up some six or seven miles off shore.<sup>38</sup> Here, uniquely on this coast, we find the criteria for the location of Apasas, the Arzawan capital, to be satisfied. It occupies a fortified position by the sea; it has ready access to a neighboring island, which has always maintained contact with the shore; and it is linked by road, as the texts require, not only northward with the heart of the Pisidian lake land, but also northwest with the Seha and the

<sup>36</sup> Mursil eventually captured the stronghold of Buranda by cutting the water-supply, a detail which may help in its identification.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. G.Ix.HN, 1923, s.v. *Arinnanda*. The mountain mass, the Tahtali Dag, was the classical Solyma Mons.

<sup>38</sup> This island is called in Turkish Meis, and forms the easternmost member of the Turkish Dodecanese. An attractive drawing is reproduced in Fellowes, *Lycia*. A ground plan of the site of Anti-Phellos appears in Spratt's *Lycia* i, p. 16.

Lukka lands, in addition to its natural connections east and west along the coast. With so many points of agreement established, the possible identity of this site with Apasas will be admitted, but a forgotten fact, of which we are reminded by Richard Barnett, rounds up the evidence in convincing fashion: to wit, that the more ancient name of Anti-Phellos was actually Habessus.<sup>39</sup> Accordingly, we place the lost Arzawan capital at this point on the map, as a position tentatively fixed. Excavation will one day decide the question; and the happy archaeologist who explores this attractive and historic site may be rewarded by recovering the archives of a kingdom which in its day had contact not only with Egypt and Hatti, but also with the Achaeans and the Mycenaean world.

These considerations establish a possible line of route between Sallapa and Apasas: it is, however, indirect, and it was not necessarily followed throughout by any particular contingent of the victors or the vanquished.

SALLAPA : AURA : WALMAA : BURANDA : MT. ARINNANDA : APASAS  
 Spalia : Amorium : ?Holmoi : ?Celaenae : Solyma Mons : Habessus

We cannot dwell longer upon the story of Mursil's exploits in the West, but the sense of reality with which even this tentative outline of a map imbues the narrative enables us to appreciate to some extent the thoroughness of his preparations, as well as the speed and overwhelming power of his blows. The campaign was so far successful that Mursil found it unnecessary to lead a punitive force against the land of the River Seha as he had proposed. Waylaid, like Coriolanus, by a weeping delegation from the rebellious districts, he allowed himself to be appeased. We cannot but regret this ending. Some topographical details about the area in question and the neighboring Lukka lands would have been doubly welcome. The apparent survival of Hittite place-names in Caria and the cycle of classical legends associated with the district<sup>40</sup> offer a fruitful and indeed fascinating field for further investigation.

### III. THE DISRUPTION OF AZZI-HAYASA

Having traced some ramifications of the great west road towards the southwest coast, we now turn east, towards the highland zone between the Euphrates and the Black Sea which we have already tentatively assigned to the united kingdom of Azzi-Hayasa. The records concern the activities of Subbiluliuma on the one hand and of Mursil on the other.

The site of Hattusas is linked by local tracks with the main road east at Nefezkői (Cl. Tavium, where I place Tawinia<sup>41</sup>) and at Yuzgat, identified below with Katapa. Thence it proceeds by Geune past Sulu Serai and Bolus, to Yeni Han and Sivas. Its course is marked by Roman military stations along the Pontic frontier discussed below. At Sivas it divides, one branch continuing to follow the Halys,

<sup>39</sup> Strabo, p. 666; also Pliny v, 28: *Antiphellus quae quondam Habessus*. Cf. Bilabel, *Gesch.* p. 66.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. G.H.E., p. 80.

<sup>41</sup> This location seems to explain the name of one of the main entrances to Hattusas, called the Tawinian gate, better, I submit, than that of Etonia, suggested by Goetze, which is placed by Anderson (questionably) on the road from Chorum to Amasia, and would seem, in any case, to have been separated from the capital by the site of Alaça Huyuk. On the subject of the road through Tavium, cf. R.H.G., p. 268 f.

while the other turns south at first and climbs easily over the watershed of the Euphrates towards Kangal. Resuming its easterly course, it follows the stream which flows past Kangal and Divrik down to the Euphrates which it meets and crosses just below the great bend at Pingan. This crossing is historic, and the modern railway from Sivas to Erzingan follows the same route. Here, on the east side of the Euphrates, we enter into the domain or the borders of Isuwa, a Hurrian kingdom which, from a comparison of Assyrian and Hittite records, is known to have occupied the loop of the Great River on that side and so presumably claimed the Murad Su as its central feature. A name connected textually with Isuwa is Pahhuwa, a place with whose elders Subbiluliuma came to some arrangement in a formal document.<sup>42</sup> An agreement with the people living near Pingan would clearly be necessary for Subbiluliuma, if he would avoid a conflict each time he wished to use this strategic crossing, and the name of Pahhuwa (pronounced probably Pan-khuwa) suits the modern name of Pingan well <sup>43</sup> (fig. 2).

Proceeding from Pingan up the south bank of the Euphrates, we come at a distance of 30 miles to Kemakh (fig. 3, Kemaḥ in modern Turkish). Here both road

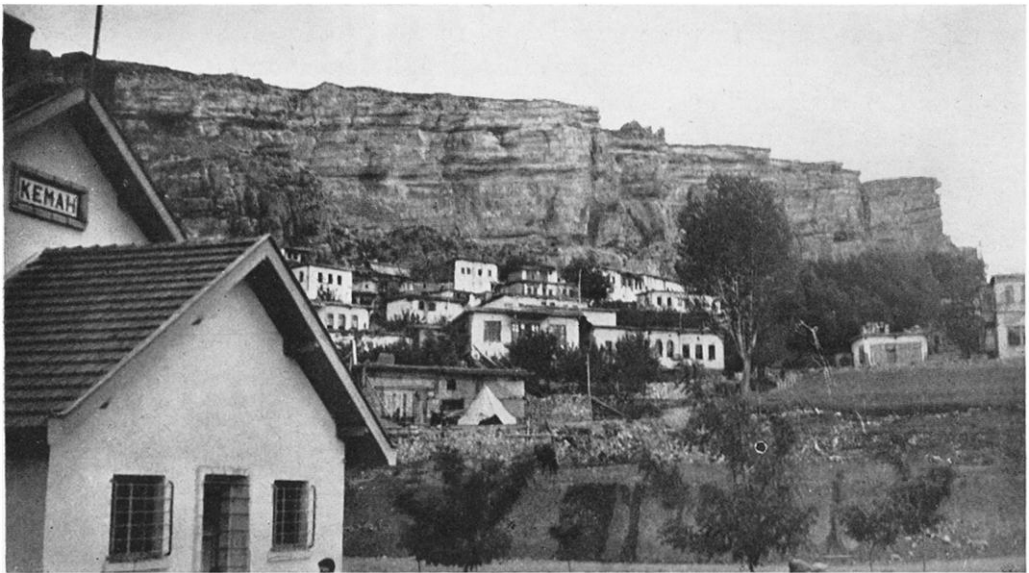


FIG. 3.—KEMAH (KEMAKH), SITE OF THE CLASSICAL CAMACHA AND POSSIBLY OF THE HITTITE KUMAḤA, THE DOORWAY INTO IŠUWA FROM THE SOUTH. HERE ROAD AND RAILWAY CROSS TO THE NORTH SIDE OF THE EUPHRATES

and railway return to the right or northern bank of the river. Below this point, all around the bend, almost as far as Malatia, the Euphrates flows between rock walls which frequently become sheer precipices (figs. 4, 5). Openings in these opposite to one another, such as those at Kemakh, are few but permanent. Kemakh thus represents a strategic bridgehead. Now the march of Subbiluliuma and his father Tudhalia III is said to have been opposed by the forces of Krannis, king of

<sup>42</sup> I have no translation of this text at hand, and confess to be creaming Dr. Gurney's interesting notes on this subject. KUB. xxiii, 72, obv. 31, rev. 16.

<sup>43</sup> A local pronunciation is Pinkan, which appears on some maps.

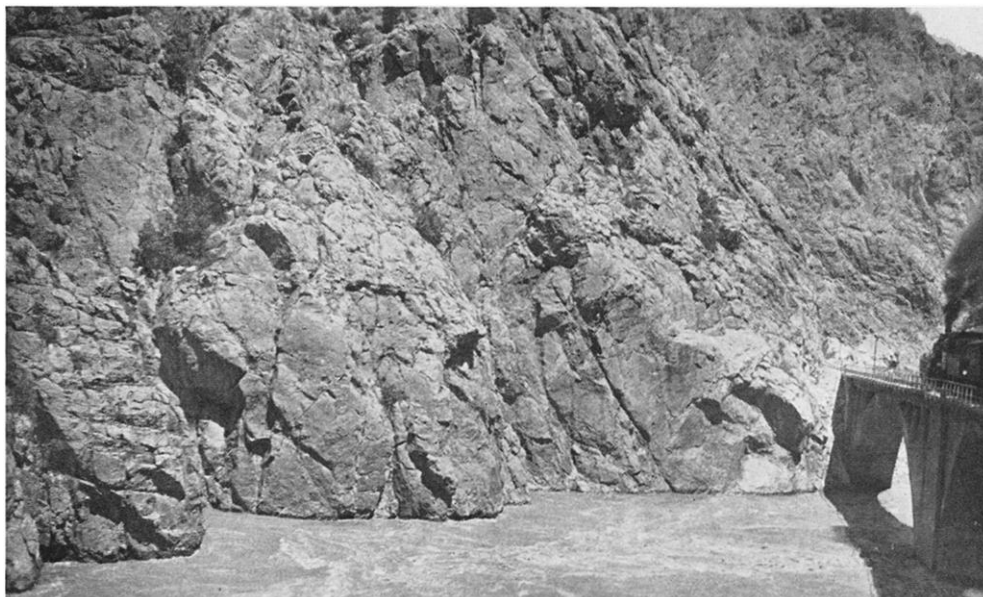


FIG. 4.—THE EUPHRATES BETWEEN PINGAN AND KEMAH



FIG. 5.—BETWEEN PINGAN AND KEMAH THE EUPHRATES FLOWS BETWEEN SHEER WALLS OF ROCK



FIG. 6.—ERZINGAN: CITY MOUND OF THE EARLY BRONZE AGE

Hayasa, at a place called Kummaha, which also is associated textually with ISUWA. But the classical name of the site at Kemakh is known to have been Camacha, which gives an almost perfect equation with the Hittite Kummaha, while the modern form indicates the tenacity of the name.<sup>44</sup> If these considerations are not illusory, Kemakh marks the gateway from the South into the territory of Hayasa, later absorbed into the united kingdom of Azzi-Hayasa. The suggested localization of Hayasa, and an alternative line of approach by the Upper Halys, seem to be indicated in other contexts.<sup>45</sup>

Before leaving this road, we may note that the Hittite name of Kangal was possibly Hahhas, as I have argued elsewhere,<sup>46</sup> in a search for certain sites beside the Euphrates below Pingan. Later in this article we shall also find Sivas to have been connected with Pala, a frontier district under Hattusil in the age of Mursil, if not actually the city of that name. We thus establish tentatively a defined line of road from Hattusas towards the Euphrates and the East:

HATTI : { HATTUSAS : ?PALA : HAHHAS : PAHHUWA : KUMMAHA : } HAYASA.  
           { Boğaz-Köi : Sivas : Kangal : Pingan : Kemakh : }

Returning now to Sivas, we follow this time the road to the northeast, which keeps to the Halys valley as far as Zara, where it turns in the required direction by way of Purkh, the classical Nicopolis. This also marks a natural and strategic road junction in its area, and local history tells of numerous battles fought for its possession. The ancient site lies about a mile east of the modern village. In addition to its connection with Zara, roads radiate from here south-east to Kemakh and Erzincan (fig. 6), eastwards by the difficult valley of the Lycus, northwest to Koilu Hissar, and so down the north bank of the same river past Milet towards Niksar. The configuration of the country precludes any but local deviation from these routes, which, except for short-cuts, follow the same tracks now as in Roman times. But that which we are tracing leads on northeast to Shabbin Kara Hissar, the classical Colonia, still one of the strongest positions in the whole of Asia Minor. This site is impressive: the town is built around the base of a lofty rock, which is crowned with fortifications and has access by a subterranean passage to a spring. Here the route turns north and bifurcates for the passage of the coastal range, but both branches have the same objective, namely Kerasund. The nearer way crosses a saddle, while the other makes a considerable detour. Arrived at the shore of the Black Sea, we find Kerasund to be placed on a hilly promontory, which, as usual, is crowned by a fortress having subterranean access to water. Eastward, mountains descending to the sea form a background to the setting as viewed from the coast road which connects it with Ordu in the West. Here at Karasund we locate Aripsas, the capital of Azzi, which according to a rea-

<sup>44</sup> This identification, which seems to suit the situation perfectly, was suggested to me by Dr. Gurney's Mss. Cf. also Fo. *Caucasica* ix, pp. 2-3.

<sup>45</sup> E.g., in Mursil's *Annals* of the Ninth Year, in particular, p. 115, which records the invasion of Istitina and Kannuwaras by the people of Hayasa from the highlands. Cf. further the invasion of Dankuwa, p. 97.

<sup>46</sup> In *JNES*. 1942, under the title "Šamuha and Malatia." The name Hahhas would presumably be pronounced Khankhas. The Cappadocian form was Hahhum.



sonable restoration of the text stood "IN the sea."<sup>47</sup> This indication may seem vague, but it is exclusive, for it corresponds uniquely with the description of Aripsas among all the ancient sites on this part of the Black Sea coast. It also conforms exactly with the sparse but graphic description of Aripsas when finally overrun by Mursil in the chief campaign of his ninth year.<sup>48</sup> Other topographical allusions in this narrative offer corroborative testimony of a special kind.

The route taken by Azzian raiders which brought them into conflict with the Hittites, and must accordingly have led southwest, passed (like that from Hayasa) by way of Kannuwaras and Istitina.<sup>49</sup> Assuming that Aripsas is correctly located at Kerasund, these two places will correspond respectively with Purkh and Zara. The fortified position of Shabbin Kara Hissar represents the inhabited hill station of Dukkama in Azzi, with which it corresponds closely in all known particulars, viz., its topographical features and its situation in relation to Aripsas. We thus establish tentatively the following route:

HATTUSAS : ?PALA : ISTITINA : KANNUWARAS : DUKKAMA : ARIPSAS  
Boğaz Koi : Sivas : Zara : Purkh : ShabinKaraH. : Kerasund.

Circumstantial evidence favors these suggestions. The road thus indicated follows, as we have seen, the one direct route between the Hittite capital and Kerasund, and the argument holds good if we are to recognize that Mursil's expeditions, or those led by his generals, started from some military center other than the capital, such as Hakpis, the headquarters of Hattusil's command for the protection of the Gasgan frontier.<sup>50</sup> This place lay seemingly to the immediate east of Hattusas, since Mursil called in there when returning home from his campaign<sup>51</sup> in the eastern highlands. Istitina, again, appears to have been the center of a small state or district bearing the same name<sup>52</sup> and this is also the case with Zara. From this place, it may be noted, a permanent road leads southward over the watershed to Kangal and Divrik, so connecting with Malatia and the Euphrates valley, and providing northern raiders with a ready line of approach in those directions.<sup>53</sup> Discussion of these and other details would lead us off our course, but they involve considerations

<sup>47</sup> *Caucasica* ix, p. 15 ff., confirmed by the reading in note 68, below.

<sup>48</sup> It is instructive to compare the following translation of the text from KBo. iii-iv, ll.35-38, by Dr. R. S. Hardy, with the relatively modern account by Hamilton.

HARDY: In this year I went into the land of Azzi . . . (36) . . . and the population occupied the fortified cities . . . (32) and I fought (against) the two fortified cities of Aripsas and Dukkamas. (KBo. iv, 4 ff.) . . . and in Aripsas I marched (to battle); however the aforesaid Aripsas was i(n the s)ea; furthermore whatever population belonged to it now (held) a rocky mountain (and) moreover it was very (over) high; and since all the (people of the) land had gone up, and all the troops held it, then I the Sun fought it."

HAMILTON: "The town of Kerasunt . . . is situated on the extremity of a rocky peninsula connected with the main by a low wooded isthmus . . . the highest point is crowned with the ruins of a Byzantine fortress, from which a strong wall with Hellenic foundations stretches down to the sea on both sides. . . . A small mosque has been raised on the ruins of a square tower: the blocks of stone, a dark green volcanic breccia, are of gigantic size. Between these walls we descended by secret steps to the beach. Here the rock had been cut, presenting a perpendicular face up which another flight of steps led back. (*Researches in Asia Minor*, pp. 262-63).

<sup>49</sup> G.M.An., p. 123, ll. 18 ff.

<sup>50</sup> G.Hat., p. 21, etc.

<sup>51</sup> G.MAns. ix, p. 131.

<sup>52</sup> G.*id.* pp. 89, l. 71; 93, l. 10, f.

<sup>53</sup> E.g., G.Hat., pp. 17, ll. 18-20. G.M.An. Yr. vii, p. 89, ll. 33-34.



which are essential to the correct location of Azzi and its neighbors. Meanwhile, the texts provide more direct evidence on the subject of this road.

It is noticeable that while most raids by the Northerners, whether Azzians or Gasgans, followed independent routes which show no point of intersection, the Azzians shared the route by Kannuwaras and Istitina with the Gasgans of Tibya.<sup>54</sup> It is to be inferred in explanation that Azzi and Tibya were neighbors and that their most ready, if not sole, access to the South led by this route. Turning to a map showing the physical features of the northern coast, we cannot help being struck by the peculiar character of the terrain lying to the west of Kerasund, between the Lycus valley and the sea. This coastal area is not only divided into a series of parallel valley-districts by the rough ridges between them, but is cut off as a whole from the interior by the bold range which forms the northern watershed of the Lycus. Through this there are only two practicable openings on the road which follows that river, namely, that which connects Unieh with Niksar and Tokat (and so led into the domain of Hatti), and that which connects Ordu by way of Milet with Koilu Hissar and Purkh. From Milet the Lycus road leads equally to Niksar and Hatti, but to raiders from the district of Ordu, the obvious outlet giving access to the Hittite highlands, while avoiding the military zone of Hatti, would be that by way of Purkh and Zara. The valley-district of Ordu, which adjoins that of Kerasund, thus fulfills the conditions indicated for the domain of Tibya—a further and significant point of agreement in the argument. The two districts are connected by the continuous road along the coast. This, to judge from Hamilton's vivid description,<sup>55</sup> is by no means easy: the ride takes about 12 hours, and not far from midway it crosses a rocky ridge which would provide a natural boundary. Inland, by the Lycus valley, the strong road stations of Asha Kaleh (the lower castle), and that which is called the Castle of Koilu Hissar, though it rises some miles east of the village of that name, may indicate approximately the respective borders of the Hittite "kingdoms" of Tibya and Azzi. Indeed, the latter may seemingly be identified, for Mursil's *Annals* of the seventh year, which are mostly concerned with these two districts, refer to the frontier post of Azzi in a special item. It was called Ura, and its defenses were perched on a steep place. Mursil shows a particular interest in these, instructing the messengers who carried a diplomatic note from him to the king of Azzi,<sup>56</sup> to take good note of their construction. The present fortifications are perched on a precipitous crag overlooking a gorge of the river from its northern side,<sup>57</sup> at a point which controls also a branch road from Purkh.

Further information is found in the *Annals* of Mursil's Tenth Year, which describe his final campaign against Azzi and supply some valuable topographical details. For more than a year previously his generals, based on Pala, had been kept busy by this refractory enemy: as usual Kannuwaras and Istitina appear conspicuously in the record of their doings. This time Mursil planned a concerted attack on the enemy's homeland, leading his household troops and chariotry in person, with Ingalawa as the appointed rendezvous. This name appears now for

<sup>54</sup> G.M.Ans., p. 89, l. 33; 93, l. 13, etc.

<sup>56</sup> G.M.Ans., p. 99, ll. 20-24.

<sup>55</sup> Hamilton, *Researches*, pp. 262 ff.

<sup>57</sup> Murray's *Handbook*, p. 46.

the first time, while there is no mention of Ura or Kannuwaras. Obviously, Mursil took some other road, but, as we have already noticed, there is only one other way of approaching Kerasund, namely, by the valley of the Lycus. This route would, in effect, be the nearest for Mursil's force, as it could be approached directly from the military stations of Hatti by way of Tokat and Niksar, while his generals from Pala or other eastern outposts could reach the point of concentration by the familiar road. Looking now for a likely place for such a meeting in the Lycus valley before reaching Ura, we notice the road junction at Milet; and in Mr. Anderson's excellent map of the country in Roman times we find the classical name of this junction to have been Megalula. This is an ancient site,<sup>58</sup> and its name makes a plausible equation with Ingalawa. We now notice with fresh interest two points in the narrative, first, that Mursil in his onslaught reached Aripsas on the coast before attacking Dukkama—about this the text is explicit;<sup>59</sup> second, that three years previously the district of Tibya had been overrun and reduced, apparently in prevision of the major campaign to follow.

The picture puzzle now takes shape, and, as it should be, there is only one solution that holds together. Mursil assembled his forces at Milet-Ingalawa, and with a characteristically rapid march down the valley to Ordu and along the coast, he took the capital ARIPSAS by surprise. Having secured its submission, he proceeded the next morning to Dukkama, where the bulk of the Azzian forces would doubtless be anticipating an attack from the south. Taken in the rear, and dismayed by the fall of the capital, the people of Dukkama capitulated and begged for mercy.

If this part of our argument has been long, it is because, as stated at the outset, we were not on sure ground in the location of Hayasa or of Azzi. Having now considered the evidence afforded by three episodes and the topographical descriptions in the texts, we find all to be perfectly consonant with the positions indicated. There is thus an inductive probability that this solution is correct, and the value of this result is enhanced by the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of finding on the maps or on the spot any other combination of sites and roads and names that could meet the case so simply and completely.

#### IV. THE FRONTIER OF GASGA UNDER HATTUSIL

It will be appropriate at this stage to consider briefly the organization of the Gasgan frontier, which constitutes in effect the military zone of Hatti. This is a big subject, as students of Dr. Goetze's work will realize;<sup>60</sup> and we cannot attempt to discuss it with any sense of completeness in this article. Some consideration is, however, essential to the localization of PALA and TUMMANA which are involved in the next stage of our inquiry. It will be sufficient to consider the alignment of stations on the Gasgan frontier under Hattusil's command in the reign of Mursil. The list is given in Hattusil's own *Memoirs*<sup>61</sup> as follows:

<sup>58</sup> In the interior of Pontus Polemoniacus: Ptolemy, p. 118.

<sup>59</sup> G.MAns., p. 135, l. 17.

<sup>60</sup> See, in particular, his exhaustive review of the interrelations of the Gasgan towns in RHA. i, pp. 18–32.

<sup>61</sup> G.Hat., p. 21, ll. 57–61. The text is intact.

ISHUBITTA : MARISTA : HISSASHAPA : HANHANA : TARAHNA : HATTENA : DURMITTA : followed by PALA and TUMMANA.

Something is known about most of these places. Ishubitta was an important center and headquarters of a district.<sup>62</sup> It was connected closely by road with Marista, the next place on the list, and also with a Gasgan town, Pishurus. All three of these places were also connected by road with Taggasta, as well as with one another, for they were all involved, singly or in groups, at various times, in local raids upon the others.<sup>63</sup> Their relative positions may be represented thus:

$$[\text{West}] \quad \text{TAGGASTA} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{PISHURUS} \\ \text{MARISTA} \end{array} \right\} \text{ISHUBITTA} \quad [\text{East}]$$

Now Taggasta is known to have been near the Halys, for from there Mursil twice embarked on an excursion into unknown territory on the other side, mentioning names of places not found in any other context. Indeed, he states expressly in his *Annals* of year nineteen that no Hittite king had previously penetrated into that region.<sup>64</sup> This clue is important, for it is already clear that Subbiluliuma in his campaigns to Isuwa and Hayasa, and Mursil's generals in their wars with Azzi, let alone Mursil's own expeditions into the Gasgan highlands, must have explored time and again both sides of the upper Halys previous to these excursions into *terra incognita*. Taggasta, therefore, must be located on the lower Halys, not far from the Gasgan border (which enclosed Pishurus). This being so, Ishubitta, chief town and center of an important district, lay clearly to the East, and must be identified with Amasia, the classical Amaseia, which alone responds to these indications in the area indicated. With Ishubitta located at Amasia, the foregoing considerations would be satisfied by placing Taggasta at (say) Tozlu Burun, near the Halys; Marista at the road junction of Chorum (classical Euchaita), and Pishurus, a starting point for Gasgan raids, farther north at (say) Marsowan. Closer identification is not possible, for the classical sites do not necessarily correspond with the older Hittite centers. These certainly existed, as witness the numerous city-mounds (Hüyüklar) and fortified hill stations which exploration has recorded,<sup>65</sup> but their precise positions at the period of the narrative have yet to be determined by excavation.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. G.MAns., pp. 19 ff. The records of Year I suggest that Ishubitta and Durmitta between them were regarded as normally responsible for the security of most of the home front on the Gasgan border.

<sup>63</sup> The argument is rather long. The reader will allow me to refer again to Dr. Gurney's Mss. which shows this result clearly. The cardinal points are inferred from the localization of Taggasta which follows.

<sup>64</sup> G.MAns., p. 151, ll. 37–38. I do not attempt to follow Mursil in this campaign, which would take us far afield, but the first station beyond the Halys may well have been Iskelib, where J. G. Anderson (in his *Studia Pontica*, p. 4f.) describes a hill station which might represent Istalubba. Criteria are, however, almost nil, though the contacts disclosed in the records of year XXVI, when Mursil again led an expedition along the same routes, present some ultimate possibilities.

<sup>65</sup> The coastal area, including Marsovan, is described by Hamilton (*op. cit.*, pp. 364 ff.). Several mounds in that vicinity are recorded (in *OIC* i, pp. 49 ff.) by the expedition of the Oriental Institute of Chicago, which followed the spinal route southward, noting in particular the Hüyük at Sary on the stream that flows past Chorum and a hill fortress with steps and cistern. The route from Iskelib, via Chorum to Amasia and beyond was traversed by Anderson, *op.cit.*

Resuming now our examination of Hattusil's list, we find the name which follows Marista to be Hissashapa, which (in KUB. vi, 45-46) is described as, or closely associated with, "The Palace of My Majesty." In this case, the value of excavation is realized at once, for the discoveries made at Alaça Huyuk, the next point south of Chorum, have disclosed the remains precisely of a royal palace, and little else, belonging to the imperial age. Hissashapa, then, may be either at the mound or near the village of Alaça. These results assume rather than demonstrate that the list follows thus far a line of road. This is, however, certain; for the route followed by one of the Gasgan raiding parties is described also in Hattusil's *Memoirs* <sup>66</sup> and followed the same line. Starting from several points, including Pishurus and Ishubitta, the raiders proceeded to capture the strong city of Marista. The next name vexatiously is damaged, but it ends in . . . pa, and so may represent either Hissashapa or Katapa, which come next in the list of Hattusil, but cannot reasonably be restored otherwise. The two lists, which seem to have followed thus far the same route, now part company. The raiders seem to have passed on by the open bridle road which connects Yuzgat with the fords of the Halys <sup>67</sup> and the site of Kanēs. The list of Hattusil, which marked the frontier of Gasga, turned inevitably eastward, and that it still followed a line of road becomes clear by comparing it with the route-march of Subbiluliuma towards the Southeast, which it is our purpose to investigate. This we shall find involves Istahara, one of the greater military centers of Hatti, and thereafter follows the frontier route past Hattena as far as [Dur]mitta. Though it is not possible to discuss the line of this route in detail within the scope of the present article, a summary of conclusions is essential to the argument. In general, the frontier zone is disclosed by the position of Hittite monuments (discussed above, in section I), and by the starting point of certain raids (which include Gaziura on the Iris), <sup>68</sup> as the basin of the Scylax, an affluent of the Iris. The particular problem of the Hittites was thus much the same as that which later confronted the Roman legions on the frontier of Pontus. We find, in short, that the stations on Hattusil's frontier list correspond point for point with the well known military camps and posts of Roman date between Yuzgat and Sivas. The sequence is as follows:

KATAPA	:	HANHANA	:	HATTENA	:	ZIPLANDA	:	DURMITTA	:	PALA
Yuzgat	:	Geune	:	SuluSerai	:	Bolus	:	YeniHan	:	Sivas
?Seralus;		(Rd jtn)	:	Carana	:	Verisa	:	Siara	:	Sebasteia.

The important military stations of Istahara and Hakpis, which are closely linked together and coupled with Hanhana in a further detailed list of Hattusil, <sup>69</sup> fall into their places in this reconstructive scheme at Mithridation and at Alishar respectively. Needless to say, the Hittite origins of the classical sites mentioned have still

<sup>66</sup> G.Hat., p. 15, ll. 3-7.

<sup>67</sup> Dr. Gurney's translation of this part of the text (Hat. ii, ll. 5-6) corresponds exactly with my recollections of this route which I traversed in 1907. From Yuzgat it follows a desolate course through the plains and marshlands of the Cappadox, encountering no town, ancient or modern, until reaching the Halys. The raiders of this text, heading for a ford opposite Kanēs, may have passed more to the east, possibly by the village of Çalap Verdi which is marked by a Hittite monument. In either case the route is open, if we except an ancient mound beside the latter, between the village and the river.

<sup>68</sup> G.Hat., p. 15, l. 8.

<sup>69</sup> G.Hat. Suppl., p. 23; iii, ll. 31-33, with which, cf. G.Hat., p. 47, ll. 26-27.

to be established except in the last two cases; and topographical details must be examined afresh before these suggested locations can be regarded as more than tentative. The positions allocated do, however, build up together into a reasonable picture with a historical background, in complete conformity with the textual interrelations worked out so exhaustively by Prof. Goetze and more recently on fresh lines by Dr. Gurney. But my main conclusion differs from theirs in one vital feature, namely, the orientation of the scheme as a whole.<sup>70</sup>

Regarding the frontier as a line, my result finds Ishubitta, the starting point, to the northwest of Durmitta. The argument rests on the position of Taggasta on the Halys, opposite no man's land which I cannot place otherwise than by the lower Halys. This is confirmed, I submit, in several ways, not the least important being the relative position of Durmitta itself, at the southeast end of the line. It matters little whether Durmitta should be located at Sivas or elsewhere, rather than at YeniHan where it is tentatively placed in this scheme; the point is that, of all the places mentioned on this frontier and of many others connected with them in the texts, Durmitta alone appears among the allies of Isuwa which revolted against Subbiluliuma.<sup>71</sup> Placed in the Southeast, its position appears logical, whereas in the Northwest it would be the farthest removed of all from Isuwa. One other difficulty involved in the old arrangement appears to me insuperable, namely, the localization of Pala and Tummana. These two provinces or districts were grouped together under a single command by Subbiluliuma, and in the next reign are mentioned immediately after Durmitta as coming within Hattusil's command on the Gasgan frontier. They were thus contiguous; and other contexts associate them inseparably with the Highlands. The familiar location of these Hittite military districts in the far Northwest beyond the Halys surely ignores the decisive fact that Tummana comes after Hattena and [Dur]mitta on Subbiluliuma's march southeast towards Harran. All these inconsistencies disappear by placing Durmitta at the southeast end of the local Gasgan frontier which beyond that landmark continues to follow a logical and geographical sequence in the same direction as Subbiluliuma's route.

#### V. SUBBILULIUMA'S ROUTE TOWARDS HARRAN

The record of Subbiluliuma's expedition to Mesopotamia (for which I rely entirely on Dr. Gurney's readings),<sup>72</sup> shows that before quitting the zone proper to

<sup>70</sup> Dr. Gurney's notes recognize the difficulties which result from the usual orientation, with Ishubitta in the Southeast and Durmitta in the Northwest, and when placing this Mss. in my hands in 1939, he suggested that I might usefully try the result of inverting the whole network of interrelations which he had worked out. This is, in effect, what I have now done. He pointed also to the weak link connecting Saddupa and Dankuwa in the old scheme. The textual juxtaposition of these names proves, in fact, to have no geographical significance.

<sup>71</sup> Among the allies of Isuwa mentioned twice in Subbiluliuma's treaty with Mattiuaza, appear the following: Arawanna (invaders of Gassiya); Zassa (? Zazissa); Kalasma (north of Syria and linked with Tummana); Timna (? Tummana); Durmitta; Hurma (linked with Samuha; ? Urumia Hüyük below Pingan on the west bank of the Euphrates); Tegarama (opposite Isuwa); Teburzia; Armatana (invaders of Kizzuwadna).

<sup>72</sup> The text, from KUB xix, 13, is translated by Cavaignac in his *Subb. et son Temps* (pp. 86-7), but his transliteration is confusing. In general, however, the narrative shows that the several detours made by the warrior-king from the direct route of the expedition had for objective the restoration of order in disaffected districts.

Hatti, the warrior-king visited a number of places on the home front, some of which are shown from other contexts to have been frequent centers of disorder,<sup>73</sup> while others are unknown. Omitting these, the main itinerary appears as follows:

ISTAHARA-HATTENA-(3 places)-[DUR]MITTA-(. . .)-HURNA-MT. TIHSINA-(. . .)-R. MARASSANTIA-MT. ILLURIA & SAPPIDUWA-TUMMANA-MT. KASSU, R. DAHARA & PAPINUWA—"back to" TIMMUHALA-GA[SSIYA]—on (after an interval represented by a gap in the text) to HARRANA, WASSUGANI & GARGAMIS.

We have already seen that the first three places (Istahara being near Hanhana) mark the last stage of Hattusil's frontier command within the Halys, which for convenient reference we repeat, together with its continuation—

HANHANA-HATTENA-DURMITTA-PALA-TUMMANA-GASSIYA-SAPPA-Land of the  
YELLOW RIVER.

Comparison of these two lists seems to justify the restoration of the two broken words in the first as DURMITTA and GASSIYA respectively. It also shows that Subbiluliuma's route, which left the frontier zone at Durmitta, rejoined it beyond the Halys at Tummana and thereafter followed it as far as Gassiya. It is also clear that, with Harran as his objective, his route would trend generally South by East, probably towards Marash for the direct ford at Samsat, since the alternative crossing of the Euphrates at Carchemish seems to have been reserved for the homeward journey. Hattusil's frontier communications through the districts of Tummana and Gassiya must have followed the same course as far as the point of separation. We must look then for some natural line of demarcation running south.

At first sight the Euphrates itself might seem to provide the required line of frontier: it flows south, and for the greater part of its course as far as Samsat its troubled waters interpose a very real barrier between its opposite banks. Examination shows, however, that whatever may have been its strategic importance in earlier times, this valley does not conform with the eastern frontier in the days of Mursil. Several of the older leading cities of the Hittites can be shown to have stood beside the river, notably Battiarik, Arziya, and Samuha, the last being one of the national sanctuaries; but not one of these well known names appears in the record of Subbiluliuma's march or on the line of Hattusil's frontier. Nor is there any allusion to Lawazantia, the home of Hattusil's queen, a district closely associated with Samuha in the texts,<sup>74</sup> and probably located also in the vicinity of Malatia.<sup>75</sup> It would seem indeed that the Hittites' hold upon the Euphrates valley dated from earlier times, possibly from the days of Kussar,<sup>76</sup> but in the "dark age" their grasp was loosened—Battiarik and Samuha were, in fact, captured by their northern foes from Gasga and Azzi.<sup>77</sup> Under Subbiluliuma and Mursil the situation seems

<sup>73</sup> E.g., Balhuisa; G.MAns. iii, p. 43 f.

<sup>74</sup> G.Hat., p. 47, ll. 16–17, etc. In KUB. vi, 45, also Lawazantia is placed next to Hurma which is generally linked in turn with Samuha.

<sup>75</sup> Dr. Gurney points out in a memorandum that the name Hasikasnuwanta, which in KBo. iv, no. 13, appears in the sequence Battiyarigga-Arziya-H-Samuha, closely resembles the name of a goddess of Lawazantia, Hasikasnawanza.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Louvre iv, Tabl. 10. For this reference I am indebted to Prof. Gelb.

<sup>77</sup> G.Hat., pp. 17, ll. 18–20; also KBo. vi, 28 (cf. G.Kizz., p. 25).

to have been relieved by repeated punitive campaigns, which were effective at any rate in maintaining a right of way along the main roads so that Hattusil came and went to Samuha at will.<sup>78</sup> These considerations apply also to most of the highland zone in the basin of the Euphrates. Certain district names can be localized to this zone, e.g., Kalasma, which was connected with Isuwa and lay north of Syria; Tegarama, which lay opposite Isuwa; and Piggainarissa, which lay between Tegarama and Hayasa on Mursil's march from Carchemish and Comana. In the latter district Mursil's *Annals* also disclose numerous town names<sup>79</sup> but not one of these, nor any of the districts is mentioned in the lists we are considering. The interrelations of the states, and in particular their connections with Tummana,<sup>80</sup> are, however, fairly full and clear, and they enable approximate positions to be assigned to them as shown on the map.

The frontier zone of Hattusil on the border of the eastern highlands must thus be sought further west, along the main watershed of the Euphrates. This natural boundary is well defined: it runs along the mighty arm of Anti-Taurus, which reaches North as far as the Tonus Dag and parts the waters of the Euphrates from those of the Zamanti Su, main affluent of the Saros. Mt. Tonus, indeed, parts the waters of three different systems, for other streams flow down from it towards the Halys; and a chain of mountains, continuing from that landmark in a northeasterly direction, forms the watershed between that river and the Euphrates. Appropriately, then, the craggy summit of Tonus, visible from afar, may be regarded as Nature's boundary-post upon this line of frontier.

We had followed Hattusil's frontier zone as far as Durmitta, which seemed suitably placed at YeniHan (Siara) on the main road towards Sivas, where there is an easy and permanent crossing of the Halys. To the south of Sivas the valley is relatively wide and open, rising gradually up the southern slopes towards the watershed marked by the Tonus Dag. This district we assign then to PALA, which comes next on Hattusil's list, and is described in Mursil's *Annals* as open ground, without cover for the soldiers who had to seek shelter in the mountains.<sup>81</sup> It is known also to have been connected with the highlands and contiguous with Tummana.<sup>82</sup> There does not seem to be enough evidence to localize the city of Pala, which is rarely mentioned, unless it prove to be synonymous with "The city of the Marassantia" found in several texts.<sup>83</sup> It is worth noting, however, that the actual crossing of the river at Pala is never mentioned, leaving it open to question whether that was so much a matter of course as to escape mention, or whether Pala did not stand upon the river. In the latter event, however, one might expect the place of crossing to be suggested by another name, as in Subbiluliuma's route, which indicates a detour to a lower ford. Another point is the anxiety and prompt action taken by Mursil to keep open the roads to Pala,<sup>84</sup> which clearly marked a

<sup>78</sup> G.Hat., p. 51, l. 28.

<sup>79</sup> G.MAns. ix, pp. 127-28. Included among these names appears Harsama (p. 129, l. 45) which seems to be identical with the Hursamna of the Mari tablets. This was a center of horse-breeding, and has been localized by Dr. Albright with his customary perspicuity to the area indicated which is blessed with grassy "downs" and is still known as a home of this industry. Cf. *BASOR.* 77, p. 31.

<sup>80</sup> E.g. G.MAns. xxii, p. 161.

<sup>81</sup> G. *ibid.* pp. 153-55.

<sup>82</sup> G.Hat. Supl. (MVAeG 34, 1930, v.) p. 49.

<sup>83</sup> G.Hat., p. 31, iv-2; p. 49, l. 19, where it is linked with Samuha.

<sup>84</sup> G.MAns. v, p. 77.

strategic road center. We have already noticed the concentration of strategic roads from Kannuwaras in the Northeast, from modern Niksar in the North, and from Hattusas in the Northwest, upon the site of Sivas, from which, in turn, roads radiate to various points in the southern highlands, notably Southeast towards Malatia and due South by Ulash to Tonus, Virenshehr-Carmalis and Azizia-Zamandos. The latter, which follows the natural borderland, would form Hattusil's strategic line of communication through Pala and Tummana. The main road, which connected Sivas with Kanesh, passed as now by the south bank of the Halys. As a road center, then, Sivas seems to suit perfectly the rôle of Pala.

Tummana, where Subbiluliuma's route rejoins the frontier zone, is localized by the foregoing considerations — if these are not hopelessly illusory — to the upper basin of the Zamanti Su (the classical Carmalis). This district lies to the immediate south of Mt. Tonus: it is bounded on the east by the main watershed of the Euphrates, and on the west by the Khanzir Dag with its continuations (as far as lofty Argaeus) which separates it from the basin of the Halys. Towards the south it is closed by the Kaleh Dag which looks down on the main cross road between Ekrek and Azizia-Zamandos. Happily, in this case, topographical indications in the texts are distinctive and seem to conform exactly with the main features of the district when approached from the West. In this respect the broad outline to be traced from the description of Subbiluliuma's march is supplemented by graphic details from the *Annals* of Mursil, who more than once campaigned in the same district.<sup>85</sup>

Subbiluliuma's itinerary shows that Tummana lay opposite to Mt. Tihsina on the far side of the Halys, from which it was separated by the district of Sappiduwa and Mt. Illuria. It is clear that these two mountains rose approximately opposite to one another across the river, and Mursil's records confirm this picture. Both accounts also couple Mt. Illuria with a Mt. Kassu and a river Dahara; these were indeed among the objectives of Subbiluliuma's obvious detour between Tummana and Timmuhala, and of a subsequent campaign by Mursil. The map shows that, granted provisionally the approximate location of Hattena and Durmitta, Mt. Tihsina must be represented by the Ak Dag, which overlooks the Halys for some eighty miles below Sivas, and that Mt. Illuria is equally well represented by the Khanzir Dag, which, as already seen, faces the other from the opposite side of the valley, here about fifteen miles wide.<sup>86</sup> Mt. Kassu, which is associated with Mt. Illuria in both records, equates with Mt. Tonus,<sup>87</sup> and the River Dahara may be the head stream of the Zamanti Su which flows past both. The correspondence, then, of the topographical indications in the texts with the actual physical features of the area is remarkably suggestive, and contributes to the general concordance of this reconstruction. The argument may be developed, but sufficient has been said to illustrate our conclusion. The test of its validity will be the extent to which all such details fit together logically into a cohesive picture.

After his detour Subbiluliuma went "back to Timmuhala," which appears to

<sup>85</sup> Years xxi-xxiv: G.Ans. pp. 157 ff.

<sup>86</sup> The intervening district would correspond with Sappiduwa, and the city of Tummana which, like Pala, is rarely mentioned, would fit well at the name site of the classical district Carmalis at Virenshehr, not far from which, at KaraKuyu, explorers have located an imperial monument. Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphic Inscr.*, p. 77, pl. XVII.



have been the effective starting point for the major expedition before him, and therefore to be looked for somewhat farther south. Happily in this case we know what kind of station to expect, for Mursil had several encounters with the rebels at Timmuhala, and has left us a detailed description of the site.<sup>88</sup> It stood on a high rough hill, too steep for horses to climb, and its approaches were protected by a ring of strong places and fortified camp enclosures. Subbiluliuma himself is credited with having constructed one of these. It evidently occupied a highly valued strategic position, as may be seen in Mursil's strenuous efforts to dislodge the rebel Gasgans who had seized it and occupied the surrounding hills. On one occasion, having razed the place by burning, together with two of its protecting stations, Zimummu and Tiyassilti, he dedicated the site to the Hittite god and declared it sacrosanct,<sup>89</sup> to be no more inhabited, much as Joshua did with Jericho. The rebels, however, took little notice of the ban—presumably they worshipped other gods. A site corresponding with these indications is found a little way due south on the Kaleh Dagħ (Castle Hill) already mentioned. On the crest of this hill there stood a castle called by the strange name Turba Kala, and lower down, both on its slopes and at its foot, are the ruins of numerous strong places, of which at least eight are shown as ancient on Kiepert's map. The whole hill, which is some twenty-five miles long, requires and deserves a thorough archaeological survey. I cannot find that it has ever been examined by an archaeologist since it was crossed by Lejean more than sixty years ago. All the same, there is no denying that a fortified place on this hill not only would be difficult to take, but would occupy a commanding situation of high importance. For the Hittites, indeed, the possession of this strategic position would appear to have been almost vital to any imperial ambitions in the South and East, if not to their national security. At Zamandos, equated on topographical grounds with Zimummu, it commanded the meeting point of two main routes: that which comes from Sivas by way of Tonus and passes south *via* Kemer and Geuksun to Marash; and that which, coming from BoghazKöi and Kanis by way of Zerezek and Ekrek, leads on *via* Geurun and the Valley of the Tochma Su to Malatya and the Euphrates. Moreover, the subsidiary stations at Kizil Han and Ekrek control the heads of alternative passes by which the same route to Marash can be joined, while the road *via* Zerezek to Tomarza gives direct access to the main passes over Anti-Taurus leading in the same direction. In short, this position had for the Hittite emperors a real importance which was both economic and military. Topographically, it agrees amazingly well with the indications in the texts concerning Timmuhala.<sup>90</sup> Unless our whole scheme is wrong, we may accept the location of Timmuhala at Turba Kala with some confidence.

At Timmuhala, Subbiluliuma was already knocking at the gates of Syria, but if the restoration of Ga . . . as Gassiya is correct, he seems to have avoided the defile route by Azizia, and to have crossed into the Kemer-Geuksun by one of the passes of Anti-Taurus. Two of these lay on his course: that of Karabel which can be

<sup>87</sup> In Particular The Kara Tonus Dagħ.

<sup>88</sup> G.MAns.Year xxiv, p. 169, ll. 20–34.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, ll. 15–17.

<sup>90</sup> With Zimummu at Zamandos-Azizia, the agreement not only includes other fortified positions, but extends to the routes of approach about each of which there is some special indication.

gained from Zerezek and descends on Kemer by way of the old site of Comana, the Hittite Kummani, at Shahr; and that of Dedi Bel, which is not well known to us, but is more used by the local folk, possibly because it offers more lines of approach and egress. It is true that in either case this route would have passed, so far as we can tell, through the northern apex of Kizzuwadna. For this contingency Subbiluliuma's foresight had already prepared the way by alienating the control of the district of Kummani from the king of Kizzuwadna, and placing it under his own son Telipinus.<sup>91</sup>

I hesitate to try to follow this route farther, partly because of the gap in the text at this point, and also because the ground before us is increasingly insecure. We do not know whether the Ga . . . of the text is the Gassiya of Hattusil's frontier command, and the problem of Gassiya is complicated by other considerations which would lead us too far afield. If, however, we assume—as seems reasonable—that Gassiya, the next district after Tummana on the frontier, would naturally occupy the next part of the river basin below Tummana, it would seem to have touched on the borders of Kizzuwadna. The presence at Fraktin, almost beside the river at the source of a short affluent, of a joint monument of Hattusil and Putukhipa, may be taken to lend support to this idea. As a result, we should find Pala, Tummana, and Gassiya to follow one another in natural sequence along the borderland of the Hittite Highlands, from the Halys River to the Taurus Mountains, so completing the continuous circuit of Hattusil's frontier command around the north and east of the domain of Hatti.

One further point seems to call for a word of comment. On the assumption, now generally accepted, that the Saros River is the Samri of the Hittite texts, it would seem that the dismemberment of Kizzuwadna and the demarcation of a new frontier left Subbiluliuma in undisputed possession of the road south from Azizia-Zummunu; but apparently this did not suffice to secure the passage of his troops. The route is direct and relatively easy, but it is narrow, and passes frequently through ravines. These would be flanked on the east side, so far as we can see, by the territory of Kalasma, which was counted among the allies of Isuwa who defied his authority and several times revolted in the age of Mursil. Prescience of danger from this source may explain Subbiluliuma's choice of route on the occasion of his march towards Harran.

We conclude this part of our inquiry with a rapid summary. Subbiluliuma's route from Istahara, while following in general direction the line of Hattusil's frontier zone, deviated from it at several points. Arrived *via* Hanhana at Hattena, he there visited three unknown places, doubtless in the hills, but seemingly returned to the main road at Durmitta. Here, instead of pursuing the road through Pala, he turned by way of Mt. Tihsina (the Ak Dagħ) to Hurna, whence he descended to and crossed the Marassantia (known to be the Halys) by a convenient ford used also by Mursil—probably that of Shahrkishla which is permanent and leads in the required direction. Arrived by way of Mt. Illuria (the Khanzir Dagħ) at Tummana, of which the name site would probably be that of the classical Carmalis at Virenshehr, he again left his course. This detour led him northwards to Mt. Kassu (the Tonus Dagħ), to restore order, and this fact may explain to some extent why he avoided the direct

<sup>91</sup> G.Kiz., p. 70.

route *via* Pala which passed through that district. Turning "back to Timmuhala," where the Gasgan invaders capitulated, he seems to have avoided the direct way south from Azizia-Zimumu, and to have descended the Zamanti Su into the next frontier district of Ga[ssiya]. From here he could reach his objective in Mesopotamia by way of the Kurubel pass, Kummani-Shahr, Geuksun, Marash and Samsat. His route, and the places tentatively identified, may be epitomized as follows, the last stage being doubtful.<sup>92</sup>

{	ISTAHARA	:	HATTENA	:	DUR[MITTA]	:	MT. TIHSINA	:	MARASSANTIA R	:	}
{	Mithridatium	:	Carana	:	Siara	:	Ak Dagh	:	Halys Fl.	:	}
{	MT. ILLURIA	:	TUMMANA	:	MT. KASSU	:	TIMMUHALA	:	GA[SSIYA]	:	HARRANA
{	Khanzir D.	:	Carmalis	:	K. Tonus D.	:	TurbaKala	:	Tomarza Distr.	:	Harran

In the foregoing pages I have endeavored to trace some of the vital life-lines in the Hittite imperial scheme. The method of investigation, which takes due account of the permanence and limited number of the main roads in the country, and makes use of any topographical indications in the texts, though by no means new to other fields of study, has not been employed hitherto on any scale in connection with Hittite geography. The validity of the conclusions outlined rests inductively upon the constructive accordance of all strains of evidence. If criticism discloses any radically discordant elements, correction or modification will be necessary; otherwise we can continue to build up the Map of Hittite Asia Minor with some confidence upon these lines. I would like, in conclusion, to recall my indebtedness to Dr. Gurney, whose researches provided me with the basis and stimulus for further study; and also to my friends in the Oriental Institute of Chicago who, with unforgettable hospitality, have lent me their help as well as the full facilities of their institution.

c/o ORIENTAL INSTITUTE  
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

JOHN GARSTANG

<sup>92</sup> The significance of the gap in the text at this point is stressed in a personal memorandum to me by Prof. Goetze, who doubts whether it was Subbiluliuma himself who led the expedition to Harran, which may, indeed, have been an independent campaign. Our route is good none the less as far as Timmuhala, and the general direction can be sustained by fuller consideration of the place names involved and their interrelations. I am deeply indebted to Goetze for kindly reading my proofs and suggesting numerous emendations, most of which I have endeavored to incorporate. But it should not be supposed that our conclusions are thereby brought into agreement.



The Hulaya River Land and Dadassas: A Crucial Problem in Hittite Geography

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# THE HULAYA RIVER LAND AND DADASSAS<sup>1</sup>

## A CRUCIAL PROBLEM IN HITTITE GEOGRAPHY

JOHN GARSTANG

**O**F THE many unsolved problems of Hittite geography, this of the Hulaya River Land stands out as probably the most important and at the same time the most tantalizing: important, because that territory formed the hub, so to speak, of five other contiguous states or districts by which it was en-

<sup>1</sup> This geographical study is based primarily on some unpublished notes and a translation of the Hulaya Boundary Text (*KBo* IV 10) which Dr. O. R. Gurney generously prepared for me in 1938; but it was not until I had worked over his more complete manuscripts on the interrelations of the Hittite states (of which my article on "Hittite Military Roads [and map]," *AJA*, Vol. XLVII, No. 1 (1943), represents the first-fruits) that I have been able to find a possible solution to the highly complex problem which lies before us. It is all the more regrettable that, owing to Dr. Gurney's continued military service in Africa, I have been unable to consult him about the conclusions herein outlined. His basic materials are cited in this article as "Gur. notes" and "Gur. MSS."

In these footnotes current periodicals and text transcriptions are represented for the most part by the now familiar initial-letter abbreviations of their titles: the student will find a useful bibliography in Goetze's *Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography* (New Haven, 1940), pp. ix-xi. I use, however, "KAF" instead of "KIP" to represent *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*, and other occasional clarifications of the kind. I have also abandoned, as an obstacle to progress, the cumbersome method of referring to passages in the Hittite texts by the number of the tablet, obverse or reverse, column and line, etc., in cases where reliable translations are available. This applies in particular to Dr. Goetze's translations of *Mursil's Annals*, *Hattusilis*, and *Madduwattas*, which are cited in the abbreviated forms "M. Ans.," "Hatt.," and "Madd.," respectively, under the page number of that scholar's publications. Other occasional abbreviations include "G.HE" for Garstang, *Hittite Empire*; "Goetze, Kizz.," for Goetze, *Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography*; and "R.HG" for Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*. As there is no standard transliteration of Hittite place-names, some inconsistency may arise when quoting from other writers, and for this I ask the reader and the editor for their indulgence.

The spelling of Hittite names has been simplified by the omission of unnecessary doubled consonants and diacritical marks. In all such names, *s*, usually written *š*, = *sh*, and *h*, usually *h*, = *kh*. Turkish place-names are rendered, so far as possible, by English consonants. Thus, *chai* for *çay* (a stream).

circled; and tantalizing, because the text describing its boundaries, though almost flawless and replete with detail, defies obvious explanation.<sup>2</sup> It certainly bristles with difficulties, many of which, however, are of an elementary kind and probably arise from the fact that it was based on an older document into which its new clauses were imperfectly welded. It begins, for example, by preparing the reader for a gift of territory to the king of Dadassas, but it ends by describing the boundaries of the Hulaya River Land without indicating any clear relation or contact between these two districts. That they were neighbors is known from clauses of an earlier treaty quoted in this one; but we are left wondering whether the boundary so carefully described comprised that of the original kingdom or defined only the added territory. On the historical side, doubts also arise from an apparent confusion between two royal personages connected with Dadassas itself.<sup>3</sup> Since there

<sup>2</sup> Its problems are discussed from different stand-points by Forrer, *Forsch.*, *Die Arzawa Länder* (1926), pp. 29 f.; Goetze, "Zur Geographie d. Hethiter Reichs," in *KAF*, 1927, pp. 108 ff., and *OLZ*, 1927, col. 527; again by Forrer, "Kilikien z. Zeit d. Hatti-Reichs" in *Klio*, 1937, pp. 146 f.; and Goetze in his *Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography*, p. 52, n. 198. My own results will be found to approach those of Dr. Goetze closely; and this observation may be applied more widely, though the differences on our maps are still too apparent.

<sup>3</sup> "Hattusil III installed <sup>3</sup>LAMA as king of the city Tattassa when he moved back to Hattusas" (Goetze, *Hatt*, p. 37, ll. 62-64). It was on this "occasion that he inspected the records and drew up the document *KBo* IV 10"; but "with the exception of obv. 38-49, the treaty concerns Ulmi-Teshup throughout." This ruler is "twice called king of the land of Tatassa" (rev. 18 and 21), and this is the only title ascribed to him. The document is the charter accorded to Ulmi-Teshup on his installation as king of this land: no other interpretation is possible" (excerpts from Gur. Notes).

is no agreed solution to these and other difficulties, I propose in this article to seek fresh light from an examination of the geographical implications in this text which are abundant and self-contained.<sup>4</sup> A preliminary glance, however, at the historical setting of the picture to be unfolded will add interest to this inquiry and may prove helpful.

The records that concern us mostly date from the time of Hattusil III, who ruled as Great King over the established Hittite Empire in the first half of the thirteenth century B.C.;<sup>5</sup> but the story really begins with his predecessor, Muwatalli. This monarch, we learn from Hattusil's "Memoirs,"<sup>6</sup> fearful of a Gasgan uprising in the North, "quitted Hattusas" the Hittite capital, long established within the loop of the Halys, and went down to the Lower Land"; also he "took up the Gods and brought them to the Land. . . ." This dramatic episode is confirmed in three other passages, from which we learn also the name of the chosen refuge: "He moved the Gods from their place and brought them down to the City Dadassas, and occupied [or built up] Dadassas"; "he made Dadassas his residence," and "he took up the Gods, and brought them to Dadassas and made Dadassas a great shrine."<sup>7</sup> Thus for a

number of years (following, it would seem, the Battle of Kadesh which Muwatalli fought with Ramses II) a makeshift Hittite capital and chief sanctuary were established at Dadassas in or near the Lower Land; and it was not until after Hattusil's succession that the dignity of Hattusas was restored and the nation's gods were brought back to their proper shrines.

The sequel to this episode is described in the document before us. In it Hattusil, though seemingly rather contemptuous of the whole affair, gives effect to the grateful intentions of the dead monarch to reward the loyalty and hospitality of the king of Dadassas by a permanent gift of territory and by confirming his status on the same level as the kings of Carchemish. This would probably involve a military alliance rather than feudal service; and it remained for Hattusil to draw up and incorporate fresh military clauses in the document. Presumably the king of Dadassas would be made responsible for the security of those parts of the Lower Lands of which he newly stood possessed, in particular a local sector of the Arzawan frontier, an assignment formerly assured by a Hittite cavalry officer. That Muwatalli should select a place of refuge within range of the Arzawan frontier may seem strange; but, while we do not yet realize the full extent of the unrest that followed his partial failure at Kadesh, we do know that Mursil's powerful campaign in Arzawa had broken for the time being the striking power of the Arzawan confederates, and that his subsequent treaties with their border states were designed to guarantee his own frontiers against disturbance from that quarter.<sup>8</sup> So effective, indeed, were the

<sup>4</sup> The evidence is plentiful but involved; and clarity, no less than logic, requires the separate examination of each point, even at the risk of tedious repetitions. The first part of this article is devoted to the geographical and historical setting of our main problems; the second examines the topographical details of the Hulaya Boundary Text; while the third deals with the location of Dadassas.

<sup>5</sup> The following shortened table of Hittite Great Kings, culled from H. G. Güterbock's *Siegel aus Boğazköy* (1940) covers the period of our text:

1450 B.C.: Tuthallya II; Hattusil II;  
1400 B.C.: Tuthaliya III; Subbiluliuma;  
1350 B.C.: Mursil II; Muwatalli;  
1300 B.C.: (Urhi-Teshup); Hattusil III;  
1250 B.C.: Tuthallya IV; Arnuwanda III: 1200

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Goetze, *Hatt.* (in *MVAeG* for 1924), p. 15, ll. 76 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21, ll. 52-53; p. 37, ll. 62-64; p. 47, ll. 31-32.

<sup>8</sup> Following up his campaign, Mursil completed the dismemberment of the Arzawan confederacy by concluding separate treaties with its three border states of Hapalla, Mira-Kuwalia, and the Seha River

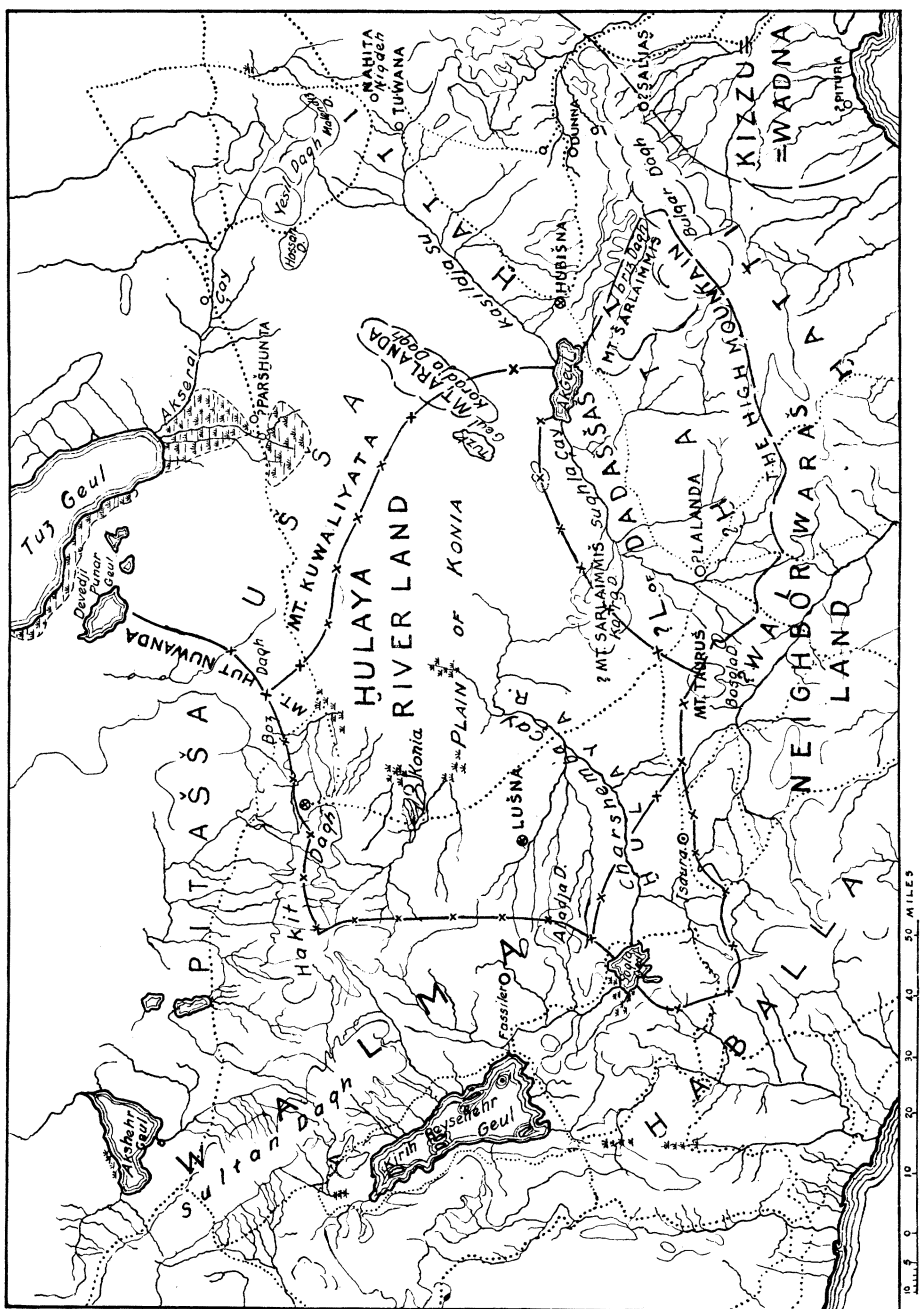


FIG. 1.—The Hulaya River Land and its neighbors

results of his vigorous foresight that no further incursion on their part seems to have occurred until well into the reign of Hattusil himself, when the long peace was broken by a fresh irruption into the Lower Land presently to be discussed.

It has already become apparent that our inquiry is concerned with three distinct but interrelated geographical units, namely, the Land of Dadassas, the Land of the River Hulaya, and the Lower Land; and it will be as well to ascertain what is known independently about these before the issue becomes complicated by the details of our boundary text. In the first two cases the story is soon told. Of the city and land of Dadassas, indeed, very little is known apart from the passages already quoted which disclose it as a temporarily safe retreat in or near the Lower Land, sufficiently far from Hattusas to be out of range of the raiding northerners. It was not included among the Hittite cantons whose gods were invoked in Muwatalli's Prayer,<sup>9</sup> nor does the name of Dadassas occur in any significant list of Hittite states or *hiera* of which I am aware. This seems to confirm the independent status of its king and to suggest a location on the outskirts of the Hittite states properly so called. In-

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Land; a paragraph in each confirms this grouping. Under Muwatalli, the Land of the River Seha was replaced by Ullusa; but this change did not affect the others which lay nearer to Hatti (cf. Friederich, "StaatsVertr." in *MVAEG*, No. 31, pp. 51, 108, and No. 34, pp. 4, 42). There seems to be no allusion in these documents to the Land Walma.

<sup>9</sup> The important document called by this name in Dr. Gurney's *Notes*, officially *KUB VI 45-46*, contains an invocation to the gods of all the Hittite shrines in the homelands of Hatti. It thus provides a list of practically all the important purely Hittite cities of the time, for all had their local shrines which would develop national importance with the places themselves. The noninclusion of Dadassas in this list suggests that it was a domain imperially acquired, or a vassal state with special rights. It is interesting to note that no Hittite monuments have been found within the territory we ascribe in our conclusion to the Land of Dadassas.

deed, the very term "Lower Land" points toward the relatively low-lying plains in the south of the plateau (to the northeast and east of Konia), if not to the still lower lands with which these communicate farther south. This part of the problem will be considered in its turn. Meanwhile we learn from older passages quoted in our text that the original treaty with Subbiluliuma had allocated to Dadassas two places which lay apparently outside its natural frontiers, namely, Sharmana, otherwise unknown,<sup>10</sup> and Dunna, where there was a shrine of a storm-god of the Teshub cycle.<sup>11</sup> A Hittite *hieron* of this name is known; and its deity, Hallara, had an accepted status in the national pantheon, being grouped with that of Hubisna in six international treaties.<sup>12</sup> Now the latter place, Hubisna, may be identified with some certainty with the classical Cybistra, located at Eregli in the valley of the Kasilja Su, by its clear and frequent association with Tuwanuwa, the site of which is definitely fixed at Bor, higher up the same valley, where its name survived as the classical Tyana.<sup>13</sup> Moreover the association of Hubisna with Dunna recalls the similar association by Ptolemy of Cybistra with a classical site Tynna, the position of which is fixed by a Latin road inscription within a few miles of Ula-Kishla (Loulon), near the mouth of the Cilician Gates.<sup>14</sup> The well-known

<sup>10</sup> A variant reading appears as Lapanana (Gur. *Notes*), but this name is equally unfamiliar.

<sup>11</sup> *KBo IV 10*, obv. 36. This deity was invoked as first witness to the treaty. Cf. also n. 15.

<sup>12</sup> E.g., the treaties with Nuhasse and Mitanni; cf. Weidner, *Pol. Dok.* in *8 BoStu*, pp. 69 and 31. In both cases the sequence reads: "Tahurpa, Dunna, Hubisna. . . ."

<sup>13</sup> Professors Gelb and Güterbock agree that the name preserved on a local inscription in Hittite hieroglyphs reads *Tu.wa.na*, the cuneiform version being *Tu.wa.nu.wa*. When not quoting a text, I use the shorter form as being more suggestive of Tyana.

<sup>14</sup> *CIL VI 5076*. Cf. Ramsay, *HG* (1890), pp. 68, 311, who indicates a site near Faustropolis (Loulon); followed in 1937 by Forrer, in *Klio*, XXX, 148, with



Hittite *hieron* of Dunna thus seems to be satisfactorily located; but, as the name of the deity does not appear to be the same as that of the shrine allocated to Dadassas,<sup>15</sup> it would be unsafe to infer that the two were really one and the same unless we find that the frontier of Dadassas passed near the district indicated. This possibility will be discussed below. In the meanwhile we find nothing to justify, in logic, any such assumption, unless it be that the duplication of Hittite place-names is extremely rare and hence improbable in this case.

It is known, however, that the Land of Dadassas bordered on the Land of the Hulaya River; on this point the old portion of our text is quite definite, and there is a faint suggestion that the frontier zone might be rough and hilly: "The frontier of Dadassas is fixed, and no goatherd(?) shall cross it from the Hulaya River Land."<sup>16</sup> Moreover, the fact that these two districts were neighbors suggests that the Hulaya River Land also might be located in the Lower Land, and there is independent evidence that such was the case. This is found in a special clause of Muwatalli's Prayer, which shows that the Lower Land comprised the town (or city) of Ussa, the town Parshunta, the mountain Hutnuwanda, and the Hulaya River itself. It is only reasonable to infer that the land of that river was located in the Lower Land; and independent evidence, discussed below, places Mount Hutnu-

wanda<sup>17</sup> and the Land of Ussa, here grouped with it, actually upon its border. Our problem is now taking shape: two of our geographical units are found not only to be neighbors but to lie within the Lower Land, our third unit, which now claims our whole attention.

Though graphic and suggestive, the term "Lower Land" makes an ambiguous and possibly misleading name. One can imagine it being used sometimes by the Hittite scribes in the general sense of lands lower than those of central Hatti; yet, in fact, it is found from concrete instances to connote a localized geographical area which comprised at least three separate political units, contiguous but distinct, namely, the lands of Dadassas, of the Hulaya River, and of Ussa. To be included also in the Lower Land, as seen above, are the city Dadassas (which is distinguished textually from its added territory), the town Parshunta (which is grouped textually with the city Ussa), and the mountain called Hutnuwanda. Independent information about these places in the Lower Land is mostly too vague or too scanty to localize the area, but we do get a hint from the contexts of Parshunta. This was one of a group of holy places incorporated by Labarnas I, the full list reading:<sup>18</sup> Hubisna, Tuwanuwa, Nenassa, Laanda, Zallara, Parshunta, and Lusna.

Now, several of these sites are known, and they all lie in the south central part of the plateau. The first three can be

the suggestion that the site must have been that of Zeive, five or six miles distant. In the Antonine Itinerary the name of Tynna is supplanted by that of Faustopolis (founded by Marcus Aurelius in A.D. 176.)

<sup>15</sup> This appears as *HI-HI-assis*, a favorite god of Muwatallis; while the national deity, as stated above, was called Hallara (cf. Goetze, *Kizz*, p. 52, n. 198; also Forrer, *Klio*, XXX, 149). I have found no clue as to the attributes of Hallara.

<sup>16</sup> Gurney's reading agrees with that of Goetze, who also marks the rendering "goatherd" as questionable (cf. *KAF*, I, 109).

<sup>17</sup> From Gur. *Notes* variant forms appear to be: *Hu.ut.nu.wa.an.da* and *Hu.wa.at.nu.wa.an.da*. Cf. also Goetze, *KAF*, I, 125.

<sup>18</sup> From 2 *BoTU* 23 par. 4. Other contexts show the following sequences: *Parminiya-P.-Iamma-Wasuwat-ta . . . R Hulaya* (*ibid.*, 37); *Pahtina-P.-Hunhuishna-Harrawanna-Laanta-Lusna* (*KBo* XVII 19); *Halpa-?Pala-Parshunta-Ussa* (*KBo* IV 13). In earlier texts the name appears as *Burushanda*, earlier still as *Burushatum*. These references are gleaned from Dr. Gurney's card index, of which he kindly sent me a selection before going abroad.

identified plausibly with the classical cities of Cybistra, Tyana, and Nanassos, respectively, the first two being located, as seen, at Eregli and Bor on the Kasilja Su, and the third some twelve miles east of Akserai in the valley of the river which flows past that town into the great Salt Lake (Tuz Geul).<sup>19</sup> Laanda (spelled *La.a.an.da*) looks like Ptolemy's Cataonian Leandis;<sup>20</sup> while Zallara, from its own contexts,<sup>21</sup> appears to have been located also in the vicinity of the Tuz Geul. Lusna is generally equated with the classical Lystra and so provisionally localized to the vicinity of Khatyn Serai<sup>22</sup> to the south of Konia. The whole group thus seems to fringe the southern plains, the natural lowlands of the Hittite plateau. Thus the position of the name Parshunta in this list, though not a sure guide, suggests that this, the one place known to have been located in the Lower Land, lay somewhere in the low ground between the great Salt Lake and the local Plain of Konia. The descriptive name "Lower Land" thus acquires special meaning.

Contexts of the name "Lower Land" tend to confirm these indications and at the same time to show that the Hittite equivalent has usually a defined and localized significance.<sup>23</sup> Thus, prior to Mursil's

accession, a cavalry officer named Hannutis was stationed in the Lower Land, where he apparently exercised the powers of a military governor. In Mursil's second year another high officer, possibly the king's own brother, watched there over the activities of the Arzawan enemy while preparations were afoot for the invasion of the latter's territory by a different route. In the previous reign again Hannutis, his cavalry reinforced by a chariotry unit, had repelled an attempted invasion of Hittite territory by Arzawans from Hapalla, whom he met and routed at Lalanda. Now there are convincing reasons for locating Hapalla on the eastern or southeastern confines of the Arzawan confederacy,<sup>24</sup> a position which, with Arzawa covering Pisidia and the Lycian coast,<sup>25</sup> would bring it, whatever its precise location, to the southwest of the plains of Konia. A glance at the map suggests at once that Lalanda may be identified accordingly with the classical Laranda at Karaman, where the several routes of access from the southern coastlands debouch upon the plateau and connect with the Pisidian highway from Beyshehr in the West.<sup>26</sup> Another movement from the

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Ramsay, *HG*, p. 285, who locates it at Momrasson, twelve miles east of Archelais at Akserai, with Nenezi (twenty-four miles east from the same) marking the site of Nazianos. All authorities seem to be agreed as to its localization in this valley.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Mayer and Garstang, *Index of Hittite Names*, sv. "Laanda."

<sup>21</sup> Zallara appears between Harziuna and the Lower Land in a text of Hattusil's discussed below (*KUB XXI 6a*).

<sup>22</sup> The location of Lystra at Khatyn Serai, due in the first instance to Leake (p. 101), was confirmed by W. E. Sterrett (for the *Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*, 1888, p. 142) from the witness of a local inscription, and was accepted by Ramsay (*HG*, p. 332). The survival of the Hittite name Lusna as Lystra, like Hubisna as Kybistra, seems to be generally accepted; and the location seems to suit the existing contexts. Cf. n. 18 above.

<sup>23</sup> These contexts, which I derived from Gurney's *Notes*, have now been summarized by Goetze in his

*Kizzuwatna*, pp. 22-23, with particular reference to *KUB XIX 29*. Consideration of these contexts leads Goetze to conclude that "the Lower Land is situated in the southeastern part of the Anatolian plateau and . . . belonged to the Hittites. Consequently the common opinion that the Lower Country is virtually equivalent to the political term Arzawa cannot be correct."

<sup>24</sup> See the present writer's "Hittite Military Roads," *AJA*, 1943, pp. 38 f.; and the provisional "Map of Hittite Asia Minor," *ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>26</sup> The "Pisidian Highway" skirts the eastern side of the Pisidian lakeland, between Beyshehr and Pisidian Antioch. It thus served as a link between the east, via the Calycadnos Valley, and the great west road via the Upper Maeander. See further, below, the discussion about Walma, with n. 56. The "highway" is described by Ramsay; "Notes on a Phrygo-Pisidian Glen," *Journal of the Geographical Society* (London), LXI (1923), 279 f. Its importance to the Arzawans was enhanced by the fact that no main

same direction is recorded by Hattusil<sup>27</sup> but harks back to an earlier epoch. This is the now well-known text which states that the Arzawans made Uda and Tuwanuwa their frontier: in other words, that they reached and for some time held those objectives; and it also associates the Lower Land with this inroad. An episode which looks like the sequel is found in Subbiluliuma's "Annals,"<sup>28</sup> in a passage which tells of the recovery of Tuwanuwa from an enemy who had taken it by assault. These passages are highly significant because, as seen above, the site of Tuwanuwa, or Tuwana, has been definitely identified with that of the classical Tyana at Bor. Translators differ as to the precise meaning to be attached to the signs which involve the Lower Land in this record.<sup>29</sup> Formerly they were held to refer to Arzawa itself, the starting-point; but, as we have seen above, such a connotation seems contrary to usage. Dr. Gurney once suggested to me "from the (direction of the) Lower Land" as a more probable translation. Recently Dr. Goetze proposed the reading "from afar [i.e., from foreign territory] toward the Lower Country," interpreting the passage as implying that "the Lower Country is that province of the Hittite Empire which the Arzawan invasion hits."<sup>30</sup> But this view overlooks the fact that Tuwanuwa is not included in the Lower Land by Muwatalli's Prayer.<sup>31</sup> It is in fact mentioned apart, together with Hu-

bisna and Nanassa; and these three places must be regarded accordingly as outside the recognized limits of the Lower Land. But if the words in question cannot apply either to the starting-point or to the terminal objective of the raid, they must apply to the intervening ground, and Dr. Gurney's reading thus seems to be substantiated. It seems indeed quite clear that the raiders must have come from beyond and by way of the Lower Land in order to reach Tuwanuwa. This interpretation is the only one that accords with the texts already quoted, which place the Lower Land on or near the routes from Arzawa. We thus establish a strong probability that the Hittite Lower Land lay between the Arzawan frontier and the district of Tyana. In any case our problem is now localized, for the Hittite Lower Land must involve the low-lying ground to the west and southwest of Tyana, that is to say, the Plain of Konia; and, as the Hulaya River belonged to the Lower Land we must seek for it in that plain or its immediate vicinity.

The great central plain is divided eastward from Konia into two parts by the Boz Dagh and its southeasterly extension (the Doghrubel Dagh). The southern part is the Plain of Konia, properly so called; it is little visited, being naturally marshy, as the river that waters it, the Charsemba Chai, has no outlet. The northern part reaches out toward the big Salt Lake (Tuz Geul), which is the lowest piece of water on the plateau. To the northwest the land continues to fall for some distance; but it is not watered by any river of moment and passes beyond our immediate horizon.

Three rivers fringe the eastern borders of these plains: in the northeast the Akserai Chai, which flows west into the Salt Lake; in the east the Kasilja Su, by which stand Nigdeh, Bor, and Eregli;

road leads west through Beyshehr into Arzawa, as the natural lie of the Pisidian Valleys runs north and south.

<sup>27</sup> *KBo VI 28* (trans. Goetze, *Kizz.*, p. 22).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Cavaignac, *Subbiluliuma et son temps*, 1932, p. 38. I am indebted to Dr. Goetze for correcting my interpretation of this record.

<sup>29</sup> *e-di-iz-ma iS-T[U KU]R<sup>uv</sup> ŠAP-LI-TI* (*KBo VI 28* obv 8). Cf. Goetze, *Kizz.*, p. 21.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>31</sup> *KUB VI 45-6*.

and in the southeast the Sughla Chai, an inconstant stream (as its name implies) which comes from beyond Karaman, hugging the foothills of Taurus, and receives its more important tributaries from the Ivriz Dagħ.

The first of these rivers, the Akserai Chai, though falling where it enters the Salt Lake to a possibly lower actual level than any other river of the plateau, is obviously much more a mountain stream than a river of the lowlands. Indeed, to fit it into the framework of our picture would involve so much strain that it might have been dismissed without mention were it not for the fact that Pliny, according to three of the recognized versions of his *Natural History*,<sup>32</sup> calls it by the name Hylas, and this was adopted by Kiepert in some editions of his maps. The name resembles closely enough that of Halys to admit a possible confusion; but that does not seem to be the explanation, as Pliny makes it clear that he refers to the river which flows past Archelais (Garsaura).<sup>33</sup> However that may be, its possible claim to be recognized as the Hulayas of the Hittite text is apparently ruled out by the location in its valley of the Hittite city and sanctuary of Nenassa,<sup>34</sup> which we have seen to have been excluded from the Lower Land by the implications of Muwatalli's list. Nenassa is indeed associated with the Maras-santia—the main Hittite sphere—and grouped with Tyana and Hubisna.<sup>35</sup> Historically, it formed the terminal objective of one of the earlier Gasgan raids,<sup>36</sup> which is said to have sacked the lands of

Hatti. The position indicated seems in fact to satisfy all known contexts of this name.<sup>37</sup> Nonetheless, the apparent survival of a river-name Hylas in this locality is significant, as it may have been that of some other river about which the geographer's note was vague; for Pliny, like Ptolemy, shows little firsthand knowledge of the district.

The two other rivers mentioned, the Kasilja Su and the Sughla Chai, are both low-lying and, coming somewhat sluggishly from opposite directions, empty into the same small lake called Ak Geul. This name means "White Lake," and it has perhaps to do with the fact that, quite exceptionally, the water of this lake is fresh. Its surplus discharges constantly into a fathomless subterranean cavern which may be presumed to be of volcanic origin, as numerous cones and craters, some holding water, are found in the vicinity, particularly to the west around the borders of the plain. These interesting details are, however, beside our immediate point. For one reason or another neither of these rivers can claim to represent the Hittite Hulaya, the object of our quest. Indeed, the Kasilja Su can be definitely ruled out because Bor and Eregli, which mark its sources and its exit, stand on the old sites of Tuwana and Hubisna, and these ancient holy places of the Hittites are clearly excluded from the group constituting the Lower Land in Muwatalli's Prayer. Nigdeh, also, an important military center, has been recognized by Professor Gelb<sup>38</sup> as the Hittite Nahita which fell to invaders in the reign of Hattusil.<sup>39</sup> This whole river basin was, indeed, of strategic importance to the Hittites, for through it passed a main arterial road

<sup>32</sup> vi. iii. 8. For this reference, and for assistance in this part of our inquiry, the writer is greatly indebted to Professor E. Honigman.

<sup>33</sup> "Cappadocia intus habet coloniam Claudii Caesaris Archelaidem quam praefluens ['praeterfluit' in Detlefsen's critical ed., p. 128, l. 14] Halys" [sources E, D, and R read *HYLAS*].

<sup>34</sup> See n. 19 above.

<sup>35</sup> *KUB* VI 45-46.

<sup>36</sup> *KBo* VI 28 (trans. Goetze, *Kizz.*, p. 22, obv. 6-7).

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Hrozný 3 *BoStu*, p. 99; from *KBo* II-III 1-9.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. I. Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphs II* ("O.I. Studies," No. 14), p. 17.

<sup>39</sup> *KUB* XXI 6a. The list of places wrested from Hattusil III is discussed below.

which forked at Eregli, one branch connecting with Kizzuwadna by way of the Cilician Gates, while the other passed on by the valley of the Sughla Chai to Karaman, a key position for the Calycadnos valley and the Mediterranean coast.

The Sughla Chai itself, though slow and likely to dry up (as its name implies) where it passes through the plain, is fed by more constant streams from the mountains past which it flows, in particular the Divle Su, which rises on the Ivriz Dag. No Hittite monuments or sites have been located in this valley, though in later Hittite times the dominion of Tuwana is known to have extended to Ivriz, site of a famous sculpture of the period, and even beyond the foothills of Taurus as far as the gold and silver mines of Bulghar Maden.<sup>40</sup> The Ivriz Dag may thus have formed a landmark between two separate districts or principalities. Though it is not possible to identify this river with the Hulaya, for reasons which will presently become apparent,<sup>41</sup> the nearness of the site of Tynna, possibly the Hittite *hieron* of Dunna, to the Hittite site of Hubisna at Eregli,<sup>42</sup> compels us to keep this neighborhood in view. It may conceivably be linked with Dadassas in some way not yet apparent.<sup>43</sup>

Having failed to identify the Hulaya

<sup>40</sup> Cf. G.H.E., p. 162. Inscriptions of the same king of Tuwana are found also at Ivriz and at Bulghar Maden. The royal name is now read both by Borsert and by Gelb (*op. cit.*, pp. 6, 21) as Warpalawas, the Assyrian Urbalaa. See n. 69 below.

<sup>41</sup> It will be seen, in particular, that five states or districts, four of which are known, inclosed the Land of the Hulaya River on all sides; no reasonable arrangement of the kind can be adapted to the basin of the Sughla Chai.

<sup>42</sup> Hubisna is clearly linked in Muwatalli's Prayer (KUB VI 45-46) with a Mountain Sarlaimmis, which will be found below upon the border of the Hulaya River Land.

<sup>43</sup> Since the inception of this article, I have come to see more clearly that this river basin, which is ascribed by Goetze to the Hulaya River (KAF, I, 112), probably represents the Land of Dadassas. The pros and cons of this related problem are discussed in the concluding paragraphs of this article.

with any of the rivers that fringe the plain on the east, let us turn in this process of elimination to examine that which waters the plain itself. Here the setting is surprisingly different. The Charsemba Chai is, in truth, little known or thought about, for the simple reason that its waters formerly lost themselves in the Plain of Konia, which in consequence was largely reduced to swamps and inaccessible. Yet it is an important river historically and economically. After quitting its source, the Soghla Geul, it follows at first a deep and almost continuously inaccessible rocky gorge through the heart of classical Isauria;<sup>44</sup> and the famous stronghold of Isaura itself stood high on its watershed at Zenzibar Kalesi.<sup>45</sup> At this point its waters approach near to those of the Mediterranean system; but, failing to find a way through Taurus, they turn northeast into the open plain where they formerly discharged aimlessly in the low-lying areas. Such was at least its natural condition; but through the ages attempts have been made at different epochs to utilize these waters more methodically. The problem is difficult, as the fall is very slight.<sup>46</sup> Now, however, under the modern Turkish regime, canalization and controlled irrigation have changed some five or six hundred square

<sup>44</sup> Such channels of funnels (*aulones*) are a feature of the riverbeds in Pisidia, and were recognized in antiquity (see Ramsay, "Notes on a Phrygo-Pisidian Glen," *op. cit.*, pp. 279 f.).

<sup>45</sup> This remarkable and romantic site was discovered by Hamilton, the "prince of travelers." See his *Researches in Asia Minor* (1942), II, 330 ff. It has since been visited and described by a number of archeologists; cf., *inter alia*, Hogarth in Murray's *Handbook for Asia Minor* (a scholarly work), p. 156; also Callander, *Explorations in Lycaonia and Isauria* ("Aberdeen Studies"), p. 157.

<sup>46</sup> From levels taken by the late Gertrude Bell (Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 281) I gather that the fall from the Lake Soghla Geul at its normal level (3,598 feet) to the old bridge over the Charsemba, in the middle of the plain near Karaman Han, is less than 240 feet; and this figure represents the maximum, for the lake is usually low and sometimes dry, as its name implies.

miles of relatively waste land into fertile and productive soil. We must visualize it, nonetheless, in the period we are studying, as running wild, with the now prosperous lands as pestilential swamps of little use to anyone and practically uninhabited.<sup>47</sup>

The older maps show the basin of the Charsemba Chai in this unreclaimed condition; and, by mentally joining up its numerous affluents, we are able to realize its original extent and boundaries. Around its northern and eastern sides, the Plain of Konia and this river basin are practically coterminous, and the border is visibly defined. Its northern apex is found in the Boz Dagħ already mentioned; and from there the boundary runs southeast as far as the Karaja Dagħ, on the foot of which there is a lake, westward from Eregli. Here the direction changes to southwest, following the divide between our river and the Sughla Chai as far as the towering mass of the Kara Dagħ, which is the most prominent feature of the local landscape. Hereabouts the southern boundaries of the river basin and the plain part company; for the latter naturally follows the foothills of Taurus westward, while the former continues south as far as the Busola Dagħ in the main chain which it then follows westward. The two lines thus inclose a mountainous area which includes the stronghold of classical Isaura;<sup>48</sup> but

<sup>47</sup> Some folk seem to prefer the hide-and-seek life among reeds and marshes, as in the Huleh Lake of Northern Palestine. The Plain of Konia south of the marshland is (or was) relatively dry, and there I have counted some half-dozen modest mounds (Huyuklar) which, however, to my recollection, did not look as old as the Hittite period. The file maps of the Oriental Institute in Chicago show another series nearer the southern foothills of Taurus.

<sup>48</sup> A natural hill border between the district of Isaura and the plain is indicated on our map (Fig. 1.) The broader environment of our area is to be seen from the map which accompanied my "Hittite Military Roads," *AJA*, Vol. XLVII, already mentioned. In this, however, the names WALMA and LOWER LAND are both placed, as it proves, too far east; the former should not reach into the plain at all, and the latter should not extend beyond the inner watershed of the Kasilja Su.

they converge again upon the Soghla Geul, the starting-point of our river.

The western boundary runs almost due north from this lake. On this side the foothills are less bold; but the actual divide between our river and the Bey-shehr Lake system is well marked by a continuous chain of high peaks beginning with the Sivri Dagħ, north of the lake, passing over the Kūzil Ören Dagħ, and linking northwest of Konia with the Hakit Dagħ. The last-named is a mountain ridge which runs east and west and so forms a natural boundary in the north. Beyond it are the waters of Ilghin, which find their way northwestward into the Akshehr Geul. Eastward, this ridge connects with the Boz Dagħ, thus completing the border circuit.

Such, then, is the basin of the Charsemba Chai—roughly a five-sided area the boundary of which is anchored, so to speak, in the north on the Boz Dagħ, in the east on the Karaja Dagħ, in the southeast on the Kara Dagħ or the Busola Dagħ, in the southwest on the Sivri Dagħ beside Soghla Geul, and in the northwest on the Hakit Dagħ. From north to south its maximum extent is seventy miles, and the area of irrigable plain covers altogether some forty by fifty miles—about two thousand square miles. Is it possible that this forgotten and long-neglected patch, now watered so bountifully by the Charsemba Chai, really represents the lost Land of the Hulaya River? Does it satisfy the conditions? It certainly belongs to the Lower Lands. Indeed, none lower can be found upon the plateau; and it lies on the edge of the frontier zone west of Tuwana. Here, again, were no great cities or obvious rivalries such as might have complicated a gift of territory. Two historical sites alone may have been involved. The one was Uda, associated textually with Tu-

wanuwa, and usually equated with the classical Hyde. But the site of the latter has never been satisfactorily located,<sup>49</sup> and Uda is not ascribed to the Lower Land in Muwatalli's list. The other was Lusna, plausibly equated with Lystra, which we have seen to be definitely located at Khatyn Serai on the western outskirts of the plain to the south of Konia. The shrine at Lusna seems, indeed, to have been formerly of national interest,<sup>50</sup> and special significance may accordingly be attributed to the fact that it was not included by Muwatalli among the inalienable holy places of the Hittites, nor was it included in the Lower Land—all reference to it was simply omitted. At first glance, then, we find no evident obstacle to the identification of this river basin with the object of our quest. We come to it by elimination of other possible claimants, and it seems to satisfy all the elementary conditions of our problem. The crucial test will be to see how and to what extent it satisfies and explains the text which describes in detail the boundaries and neighbors of the Hulaya River Land.

The next stage of our inquiry will not only introduce a quantity of fresh detail but will also widen the horizon of our problem. The Hulaya River Land will in fact be found set up in this text as a sort of keystone to a possible reconstruction of a larger area of the central plateau. But to attempt this on insecure foundations would be to court disaster; and it is for this reason that I have deferred consideration of this fresh material

until we had located the Hulaya River with a sense of probability from other sources. We can now approach the broader task with a measure of confidence: it involves not only the border villages and physical features of the Hulaya River Land but its whole setting and environment.

Independent evidence, discussed at some length elsewhere,<sup>51</sup> discloses two Hittite or allied states as situated to the north of the plains of Konia—namely, Harziuna, which occupied the southwest basin of the Halys, and Pitassa, which lay nearer the Arzawan border. The argument is long and covers a wider field, but one or two details concern our problem. Both these districts were in touch with Sallapa, a road center and the point of concentration for Mursil's invasion of Arzawa. This began with a decisive battle near the Arzawan frontier river at Walmâ.<sup>52</sup> The site of Sallapa being fixed with some sense of security at Sivri Hissar, the historic road center of the interior,<sup>53</sup> that of Walmâ would fall beside the Cayster, not far from the Ak Shehr lake, and so (whatever its precise location) would mark the northeastern corner of the Arzawan frontier—the point, in fact, nearest to Hatti. Now the southeastern

<sup>49</sup> For a general outline see my article, "Hittite Military Roads" *AJA*, XLVII, 40 ff. and the map. Harziuna was the name of a district and city of Hatti, placed between Kanes, a fixed point, and Sallapa, by the text of *BK* IV 13, 17–48, as transcribed by A.H. Sayce in *Oriens*, 1926, col. 2, where the sequence appears as: "Samuha- . . . Kanes-Ussuna-Harziuna-Sallapa-Salitiwar . . ." Pitassa was a district in contact with Mira, the northern border state of Arzawa (Goetze, *M. Ans.* pp. 143–45); and in proximity to Sallapa (Goetze, *Madd.* p. 29). See also Forrer in *Klio*, XXX, 146 f.

<sup>52</sup> This place-name is distinguished by its spelling *Wa.al.ma.a* from the district name Walma; and for this reason I emphasize the doubled final letter (so: Walmâ), as the distinction may still prove to have more than a philological significance. Compare, e.g., Alaassas, a village in Harziuna (*KUB* VI 45–46) which equates well with Aliassos in the area indicated, southwest of the Halys.

<sup>53</sup> For the evidence locating Sallapa at Sivri Hissar, cf. *AJA* Vol. XLVII, 40 ff and map.

<sup>49</sup> Ramsay, who himself suggested the possible location of Hyde at Kara Bunar, did not hesitate to describe this proposal as mere guess work, and warned his readers against using this conjectural location as support for other identifications. Hyde is mentioned by Pliny and in the "Notitiae," being linked in two lists of the latter with Derbe and in one with Barata. Nonetheless, as Ramsay says, "of this city nothing is known" but the name.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. n. 18 above, and the related passage in the text.

position on that frontier was filled permanently, as we have already noted, by the district of Hapalla; so that the whole eastern frontier zone of Arzawa now comes into view. A part of it, we saw above, lay across the Lower Land from Tuwana. It would thus involve the district between the western border of the Plain of Konia and the Beyshehr Lake, which now claims a moment of particular attention. We have seen already that a natural border divides this area down the middle from north to south. On the eastern or Hittite side we have noted the possible location of Lusna at Hatyn Serai, the site of Lystra; but the strength of this place must have been completely eclipsed by the city which occupied the imposing mound on the slopes of the Küzil Ören behind modern Konia, a site which Professor Olmstead tells me impressed him greatly and was apparently altogether of pre-Hellenic date.<sup>54</sup> On the other side of the divide, the quasi-Hittite monuments of Fassiler and Eflatoun Bunar, which mark sources of fresh water, have long attracted notice by their curiously provincial style of art combined with unquestionably Hittite symbolism.<sup>55</sup> But the most important feature of the area is the Pisidian Highway, which, coming from the Calycadnos Valley past Isaura, turns at Beyshehr northwest and skirts the lake on its way to the Pisidian Antioch, where it connects with the Maeander Valley and with the Royal Road to the west. This "highway" was thus not merely a local frontier

route but a sector of the natural ancient trade route between East and West, linking rich centers such as Aleppo and Carchemish by way of the plains of Kizzuwadna with the great coastal cities of Miletos, Ephesos, and Phocaia, and doubtless with the Troad.<sup>56</sup> Obviously, its value to the Hittites and the Arzawans, both strategically and commercially, must have been very high, and the district must have witnessed many struggles for its possession. That it did in fact change hands more than once will become apparent as we proceed with the examination of our text, which discloses the name of this district to be Walma.

The following schedule of the essential features which define the boundary of the Hulaya River Land was prepared for me in 1938-39 by Dr. O. R. Gurney from the Hittite text IV *KBo* 10 ("L" = land; "T." = town or city):

From L. Pitassa: Mount Hawas, the *gantanna*, T. Zarniya, (to Hulaya). T. Sanantarwa (to Pitassa)

From the frontier of L. Pitassa: military posts (?) of Arimattas (to Pitassa)

From Mount Huwatnuwanda: the *halapuwanza* (to Hulaya)

From T. Kursawansas: behind, over the "great dog," the *huwasi*-stone is boundary

From T. Ussa: T. Zaratas (to Hulaya).

From T. Wanzataruwas: T. Harazuwas to L. Ussa

From Mount Kuwaliyata: T. Suttasna was old boundary; but new boundary is T. Santimma (to Hulaya)

From ? T. Wanzataruwas: from T. Kusahusenas (?): Mount Arlanda containing a lake which is shared by Hulaya and Hatti. T. Alanas (to Hulaya)

From T. Sinuwanta: Mount Lulas. T. Ninaintas (to Hulaya): Fief of Gold Stick to the Sun

<sup>54</sup> My own recollection of this and other sites around Konia, which I saw with Professor Ramsay during my first visit to the country in 1904, are now too hazy to be reliable, and my notebooks are not available.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. *G. HE*, pp. 152-53, with Pl. XXXII. Both monuments are described in Murray's *Handbook*, pp. 153 and 149, by the scholarly pen of D.G. Hogarth, who thought they must be "native Lycaonian," though he recognized their Hittite characteristics. Both mark sources of fresh water. That of Fassiler was discovered by Professor Sterrett.

<sup>56</sup> Ramsay said of this road (in the *Journal of the Geographical Society*, LXI, 279): "For ages it carried intercourse between Europe and Asia." It is further described as the route of Xerxes in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1920, p. 89. See also n. 26 above.



From T. Zarnusa: the *harminas* (to Hulaya)

From T. Zarwisa: Mount Sarlaimmis. The military posts (?), the water [called?] *hin-naruwas* are boundary

From the High Mountain: Salias to Hatti

From the Neighboring Territory: T. Walwaras. . . ., T. Matas, T. Sanhadas, T. Larimmas, T. Saranduwas, T. Daddassis (or ? to Daddasas): and from the frontier of Saranduwas as far as he can carry the weapon: (to Hulaya)

From L. Walmâ: T. Waltannas, T. Usawalas, T. Allubratas, T. Huhuras (to Hulaya).

In the penultimate paragraph, the alternative rendering of "Dadassis" as "to Dadassas," was based on Goetze's original reading in *Kleinasiatischen Forschungen* (1927), page 108. The latter has now published afresh in English (in his *Kizzuwatna* [1940], p. 52) a complete rendering of the whole passage. This now seems to shed light on the location and border of the Land of Dadassas, in its relation to the Hulaya River Land. I have therefore extended the scope of this article in order to include a short discussion of this related problem.<sup>57</sup> The boundary of the Hulaya River Land, with which for the time being we are primarily concerned, is not radically affected by this variant reading, except as to the point of contact; but I have added ellipses after "Walwaras" to indicate a missing word which seems to place that town outside the border.

To facilitate the comparison of the boundary in the record with that of the Plain of Konia in Hittite times, I have arranged these names in three columns in Table 1, separating the physical features, etc., on the actual boundary, from the villages, states, etc., on the inner and outer sides, respectively. Dis-

entangled in this way, these names can now be readily arranged in four convenient groups as follows: (i) states or districts bordering on the Hulaya River Land; (ii) mountains, lakes, and other features marking the actual border; (iii) villages, posts, etc., outside the border in the districts (i); and (iv) villages, etc., inside the border opposite the districts (i).

Proceeding now to examine group (i) in detail, we find that five states or districts bordered on the Land of the Hulaya River, viz.: Pitassa, Ussa, Hatti, Neighbor Land, and Walma. The proximity already established of the place Walmâ to Pitassa,<sup>58</sup> supplemented by other considerations to be developed as we proceed, give us reason to believe that these five districts formed a closed circuit around the Hulaya River Land, as shown in our map (Fig. 1). With the positions of Pitassa and of Hatti approximately determined, a brief study of the map will show that these five districts can, in fact, be fitted easily into appropriate contiguous areas around the Plain of Konia. Pitassa occupies the north and northwest, between Harziuna and the Arzawan frontier zone. Ussa comes next, between Pitassa and Hatti; and being, as we know, in the Lower Land, it fits perfectly into the outlying plain between that of Konia proper and the Tuz Geul Lake. As for the town Ussa, though it may be hazardous to try and locate a site on so little evidence, in this case there is little choice, since the only ancient site of any importance near the natural border of this area is seemingly that of Pyrgos at Obruk, which marks a crossing of desert routes.

<sup>57</sup> This will be done after disposing of the Hulaya River boundary. The evidence is so interrelated that, unless we pursue each item to its independent conclusion, the argument tends to turn in an illogical circle.

<sup>58</sup> Walmâ lay near the Astarpa River, which marked the frontier of Mira-Kuwallia; and seems to have been associated particularly with the latter. Here Mursil, advancing with his allies from Sallapa, defeated and dispersed the combined forces of the Arzawans. Pitassa is independently associated with both Mira and Sallapa. See also n. 51.

The road center of Parshunta, which, as already noted, is associated with Ussa in Muwatalli's list, and lay on the route thereto from Pala,<sup>59</sup> would seem to find an appropriate position at Sultan Han. Hatti, the eastern neighbor of Ussa, is represented by the basin of the Kasilja

Dr. Goetze's suggestive reading discussed below, we may be content to leave it so for the time being. Suffice it here to note that it probably comprised the upper basin of the Calycadnos,<sup>60</sup> to the south of the Plain of Konia, from which it would be separated by the chain of Taurus—here

TABLE 1

Inside Border of Hulaya River Land	On Boundary	Outside Border
Zarniya	Mount Hawas	L. Pitassa Sanantarwa Arimattas (Posts of) [Lower Land] Kursawansas
<i>hallapuwanza</i>	Mount Hutnuwanda <i>huwasi</i> stone	L. Ussa Ussa Harazuwas
Zaratas	Mount Kuwalyata	L. Hatti
Santimma	Mount Arlanda (with Lake)	Wanzataruwas Kusahusenias Sinuwanta Fief of Gold Stick Zarnusa
Alanas		Zarwisa Salias
Ninaintas	Mount Lulas	Neighbor Land ? Walwaras
<i>harminas</i>	Mount Sarlaimmis <i>hinnaruwas</i> High Mountain	Enemy Land
Matas		L. Walma
Sanhadas		
Larimmas		
Saranduwas		
? Dadassis [or: to Dadassas]		
Waltannas		
Usawalas		
Allubrattas		
Huhhuras		

Su, with the well-known Hittite centers of Nahita, Tuwana, and Hubisna; but there is nothing to show, as yet, whether it included also the valley of the Sughla Chai, which fringes the Plain of Konia to the southeast. The nameless Neighbor Land, which bordered on the Hulaya River Land between Hatti and Walma, is thus undefined; but, as it is the subject of

rather broken—and its foothills. The western border zone, toward Arzawa, is thus reserved for Walma, a most appropriate location in view of the considerations already adduced. Separated by the ridge of the Hakit Dagħ in the northeast from

<sup>60</sup> It will be recalled that the routes between Hapalla and the Lower Land, which cannot well have avoided the upper valley of the Calycadnos, must have passed between Hatti and Walma of which there is no mention in the contexts. Cf. nn. 6 and 7.

<sup>59</sup> *KBo* IV 13; a reference derived from *Gur. Notes*.

the Hittite district of Pitassa, its natural sphere would seem to have comprised the eastern Pisidian Lakeland, including the Ak Shehr Geul and, presumably, the battle site of Walmá. In any case it would obviously control the sector of the Pisidian Highway which skirted the Beyshehr Lake.

The original status of Walma is unclear, though it seems to be mentioned, by the name "Ulma," in a long list involving Hittite shrines<sup>61</sup> in association with Sana-wita and Lalanda. This form of the name is, moreover, very similar to the "Ulama" of the Old Cappadocian tablets, which is described as a *wabartum* (possibly a factory),<sup>62</sup> and this seems in turn to be the same name as Ullamma,<sup>63</sup> a place ascribed definitely to the land of Arzawiya. These earlier records are nebulous as yet; but it seems certain that this strategic strip of territory, to which we can now ascribe the name of Walma, must have long been a "bone of contention" between the two rival powers of Hatti and Arzawa; and, indeed, it changed hands more than once in historic times. The fact that the Arzawans assembled at Walmá to meet Mursil's challenge suggests that the whole district may at that time have been in their possession. In that case Mursil seems to have reclaimed it as a trophy of his victorious campaign, for it is not mentioned among the border states of Arzawa with whom he concluded separate treaties.<sup>64</sup> Matters presumably stood thus throughout the reign of Muwatalli while he sojourned at Dadassas; and to this epoch possibly we may ascribe the monuments of Fassiler and Eflatoun Bunar. Then in the reign of Hattusil, the author of our document, another text to be presently discussed (*KUB XXI 6a*), includes

the Land of Walma among the territories lost to Hatti. The apparent unwillingness of the Hittites to accept this loss as final seems to be disclosed in the penultimate paragraph of our text, which makes provision for the reconquest of lost ground from Saranduwas in the southwest corner of the plain. We may pass, then, from this part of the boundary text with the impression that the four border states named seem to fit appropriately into contiguous areas around the west, north, and east of the Plain of Konia; but that the neighbor lands to the southeast and south remain obscure.

The physical features which bounded the Hulaya River Land on three sides also find ready counterparts on the map; but this may be in part mere coincidence, since in my experiments I have obtained similar sequences of mountains and lakes around other areas. It is interesting nonetheless to see how complete is the accordance in this case. There is mention also of distinctive details which it would be difficult to ascribe to chance. No physical features or villages are named on those sides which faced foreign territory—those opposite, in fact, to the Neighbor Land and Walma. Whatever the possible significance of this omission, it deprives us of one of our five "anchor points." The other four are, however, self-evident, and the circuit can be traced, with a certain latitude, in the southwestern angle also. The key position of the Boz Dagħ in the north is held by Mount Hutnuwanda, which marks the triple frontier between the Hulaya Land, Pitassa, and Ussa. The further course of the boundary of Ussa along Mount Kuwaliyata is represented by the Dogħ-rabel Dagħ, which in turn leads on to the Karaja Dagħ west of Ereğli. At the foot of this mountain is a lake, a detail in seeming harmony with the description of

<sup>61</sup> *KBö IV 13*.

<sup>62</sup> Gurney, *Notes*; Cf., further, R. S. Hardy, "The Old Hittite Kingdom," *AJSL*, LVIII (1941), 179, n. 6.

<sup>63</sup> 2 *BoTU 17 A*.

<sup>64</sup> See above, n. 8.

Mount Arlanda, the point nearest to Hatti.<sup>65</sup>

Continuing southwest, along the border of the plain, we find the Kara Dagħ to be equated with Mount Sarlaimmis. This mountain is also associated with Hubisna in Muwatalli's Prayer; and in our present text it is said that the waters upon it [? called] "hinnaruwas" are the boundary—a feature which may be represented by the divide between the sources of the Sughla Chai and the Charsemba upon its crest. The High Mountain, which comes next in this scheme, and marks the southeastern anchor point between Hatti and the Neighbor Land, can hardly be other than the main chain of Taurus, represented in particular by the Busola Dagħ. Without an anchor point in the southwest we might be at a loss to continue, but, as will presently be seen, the known position of Lusna shows fairly clearly that the border followed the natural boundaries of the plain, and so terminates in the north with the Hakit Dagħ, which thus represents Mount Hawas of our text and marks the border between Walma and Pitassa. The physical features on the boundary of the Hulaya River Land, as described in our text, are thus adequately represented in fact by the borders of the basin of the Charsemba Chai; and, even though such a sequence as we have described may not be peculiar to the boundary of the Plain of Konia, it contributes to the argument to find so great an accumulation of points in agreement without as yet any of discord. Special details, moreover, such as the lake on Mount Arlanda, and the identity of the

Great Mountain with Taurus, seem less likely to fall into their prescribed places by chance and may be recognized accordingly as providing cumulative evidence. Another detail of the same exceptional kind appears in the fourth group, but we may conveniently consider it now. This is the allusion to the *hallapuwanza* on the Hulayan side of the frontier with Pitassa-Ussa, i.e., south of Mount Hutnuwanda, the Boz Dagħ. This word, Professor Gelb tells me, is formed about the root *halap* and probably refers to water, springs or wells in particular. Now the most conspicuous feature in the direction indicated is the wide area of marshland which must always have been there; it is, indeed, a matter of surprise that the constant discharge of the Charsemba, even though greatly reduced at certain seasons, has not led to the formation of a permanent lake.<sup>66</sup> In such an area the *hallapuwanza* may have been the water holes or some other feature of the marshes familiar at the time. Whatever the precise meaning of the word, the special allusion to sources of water in the district appears apposite. However that may be, and apart from details such as these, the physical boundaries of the Hulaya River Land seem to correspond remarkably with those of the Plain of Konia.

We come now, in conclusion of this part of our discussion, to the place-names in Groups iii and iv. It will not be surprising to find that few of these can be located with any exactitude: they represent border villages, and, as the frontier largely followed mountaintops and watersheds, these places lay for the most part off the familiar tracks. Nonetheless, some

<sup>65</sup> In the map, however, I have suggested that the boundary may plausibly have divided the Ak Geul, the water of which is fresh, while that of the Tuzlu Geul is salty (as its name implies). A special provision about the latter would seem pointless. It will be seen below that the alternative suggested fits perfectly our ultimate conclusion about the line of boundary defined in our text.

<sup>66</sup> I can only suppose that the water persistently seeped away into some volcanic fissure—to reappear again, maybe, at a lower level as a subterranean stream, such as the famous waterfall in the Corycian cave, anciently reputed to be the prison of the giant Tryphon, in the district of Olba near the southern coast.

few can be recognized from other sources, and their general situation is determined by their relation to one or other of the encircling districts. We will therefore glance at them in this light.

- iii. In Pitassa: Sanantarwa; Arimattas (possibly)
- iv. In Hulaya: the *gantanna* (?); military posts of Arimattas

There is no obvious clue to the meaning of *gantanna*. Of the two place-names, Arimattas distantly recalls to mind the classical Ardistama, a name usually associated with the modern Arissama on the northern end of the Karaja Dagħ, near which also is a hill bearing the suggestive name Artsama.<sup>67</sup>

The next part of the boundary faces Ussa, a Hittite district.

- iii. In Ussa: T. Kursawansas; T. Ussa; T. Harazuwas; T. Wanzataruwas
- iv. In Hulaya: T. Saratas; T. Santimma

Of the places mentioned, the town or city of Ussa must have been fairly near the border to obtain mention, and (as already intimated) the only suitably placed ancient site of adequate importance to carry the district name is that of Pyrgos at Obruk, which marks a crossing of desert tracks. The other places are unknown, though Kursawansas suggests a possible connection with Soanda.

We come in turn to the places on the boundary between the Hulaya Land and Hatti, the latter being represented in this case, if we continue to follow the natural boundaries of the plain,<sup>68</sup> by the basin of

<sup>67</sup> Ptolemy, who divides his notes on Lycaonia into two, clearly locates Ardistama in the northwestern group, which would thus exclude Arissama; and, as he is the sole authority for the name, it seems hardly reasonable to give to it any other location, especially one based on name resemblance alone. We cannot, however, postulate its identity with Arimattas on the meager indications available.

<sup>68</sup> The conclusion reached below, that the boundary described in our text must make a detour so as to inclose also the basin of the Sughla Chai, does not affect the present issue, which is the location of the

the Sughla Chai, between Eregli and Karaman.

- iii. In Hatti: Kusahusenās; Sinuwanta; Zarnusa; Zarwisa; Salias
- iv. In Hulaya: Alanas, Ninaintas; the *harminas*

Only one of these places, namely, Salias, can be independently localized, though some are known from other sources. For example, Sinuwanta—which conceivably survives as the modern Sinanti, near Ivriz—is found in one Hittite text<sup>69</sup> grouped with Arimattas and Burushanda (an early form of Parshunta); but, as is too often the case, this pointer is not specific as the same group includes Zunahara, which elsewhere<sup>70</sup> appears in Kizzuwadna between Kumani and Adania. Zarwisa appears as a Hittite shrine in Muwatalli's list, wherein it is placed fifth after Tuwanuwa. The name Salias is known from two other contexts: in the one it is placed on the Hittite side of the frontier with Kizzuwadna;<sup>71</sup> and, in the other, it is grouped as here with the High Mountain and also with Paduwanda,<sup>72</sup> a name recognized by Goetze as Podandos, the modern Bozanti in the Cilician Gates.<sup>73</sup> These contexts in-

Hulaya River. To this end we compare the borders of its basin in detail with those of the Plain of Konia, noting points of agreement and of difference.

<sup>69</sup> *KBo* III 54 (2 *BoTU* 17 *Bb*) 12–17, a reference due to Gur. *Notes*. This place may be represented by the modern name Sinanti near Ivriz—one point in this geographical problem on which Goetze and Forrer are agreed. If so, Sinuwanta would be the nearest known Hittite place to the famous monuments of Ivriz, which belong, however, to the late Hittite period and came within the district of Tuwana. On the decipherment of the dynast's name see n. 40 above: the reading Warpalawas corrects that of A. H. Sayce in *G. HE*, p. 162, n. 1.

<sup>70</sup> *KUB* XX 52 (Goetze, *Kizz.*, pp. 55–56).

<sup>71</sup> *KBo* I 5 (trans. Goetze, *Kizz.*, p. 51, ll. 45–46 and 48).

<sup>72</sup> Gurney, "Title Deed of Sahurunuwa" (*KUB* XXVI 43 and 58) *MSS* trans. and notes, ll. 25 ff., where the sequence is: "Saliya—Patuwanda—the Great Mountain—Mount Hana—Mount Huwatnuwanda."

<sup>73</sup> Goetze, *Kizz.*, p. 53 (2).

dicade for Salias a strategic position in the vicinity of the Cilician Gates; a conclusion which cannot well be reconciled with its seeming location in our scheme on the southern border of the Plain of Konia in the vicinity of the Busola Dagħ. We are thus confronted at this point with a radically discordant detail. Salias was an important landmark, and I am loath to avoid this difficulty by assuming there might be two places of this name, unless philologists can show that it had a special meaning, like, for example, the Turkish *serai*, which indicates the office of a local magistrate or police post. It is sounder, I believe, to recognize that we have somehow gone astray in tracing the Hulaya boundary to the Busola Dagħ. In any case, the question raised is fundamental, and we will seek an answer in due course. Meanwhile let us proceed with the examination of these border names. On the Hulayan side the name Alanas recalls the modern Alan, one example of which occurs between Eregli and the Ak Geul. But the name Alan is a Turkish word meaning an "open space," whether in a forest, on a plateau, or in the plain—and there are a number of other examples in the area under consideration.<sup>74</sup> The other name, Ninaintas, and the meaning of *harminas* are apparently unknown.

Resuming now our peregrination of the Hulayan frontier, we note first of all that the borders of the Neighbor Land and Walma are not marked by any place-names within those districts, with the possible exception of Walwaras. They are defined exclusively by places on the inner or Hulayan side. The significance of these omissions is fairly obvious and has already been suggested: the Hittite king presumably regarded these parts of the frontier as fluid and subject to adjust-

ment, as witness the last clause in the relevant passage of our text:

- iii. In the Neighbor Land (?): Walwaras
- iv. In the Hulaya River Land: Matas; Sanhadas; Larimmas; Saranduwas; Dadassis and from the frontier of Saranduwas as far as he can carry the weapon<sup>75</sup>

The question of Walwaras will be considered later in connection with Dr. Goetze's reading and also in an independent context which shows it to have been lost to Hatti in the time of Hattusil. Let it suffice here to note that this name comes in sequence on the border next after Salias and the High Mountain. Sanhadas may represent the Assyrian Sinuhti, in which case it seems probable that the Assyrian invaders used the route of approach by the Calycadnos Valley. The next two names are unknown; the last one introduces a rather crucial question—the precise significance of the word "Dadassis." Some philologists regard this as a place-name as it stands (which seems to be unlikely),<sup>76</sup> while others, including Dr. Goetze, regard it as a case form of Dadassas. To me, the clause suggesting the recovery of lost territory by force of arms would seem to be misplaced, unless the two preceding words could be read together as "Saranduwas to Dadassas." For this reason in particular, and other minor considerations, I had come to regard Dadassas as lying in the same angle of our circuit as Saranduwas, that is, in central Isauria, and so possibly to be identified with the famous stronghold and refuge of

<sup>75</sup> "Implying," writes Dr. Gurney, "that the Hulaya Land here faced enemy country." Dr. Goetze also interprets the text in this way (*KAF*, I, 109).

<sup>76</sup> The termination *-is* seems to be very rare in Hittite place-names. Alternatively, the possible survival of Dadassis as Lalassis (an important center of later times on the lower branch of the Calycadnos) suggested by the reading in some of the manuscripts as Dalassis—an easy change in Greek capitals—is not sustained by an examination of the published coins. Cf. *Coins of Lycaonia* in the British Museum series (XXXIX f., LII, 119; and Head *HN* [2], 722, 726).

<sup>74</sup> E.g., Alan Hüyük, near Bulghar Maden; and Alan Köi in the south center of the Plain of Konia.

Isaura itself at Zenzibar Kalesi. The treaty we are discussing would thus have united the upper and lower basins of the same river under a single rule, in accordance with Hittite practice. This theory, though attractive and present in my thoughts when drafting the map to illustrate this article, has evident weaknesses which are more apparent now that the evidence has been set out point by point. It does not explain, for example, the position of Dunna, which, if not actually within the domain of Dadassas, must have been fairly near its borders.<sup>77</sup> It also leaves on one side the open question of Salias. But one naturally feels that the correct location of the Hulaya River Land should provide some clue to the position of its senior partner, the Land of Dadassas; and that the solution of this second problem should leave no questions of major interest outstanding. Abandoning therefore the theoretical identity of Dadassas with the classical Isaura, I have now reconsidered the evidence in search of a solution that will answer all such questions in a single theory.

We come lastly to the frontier with Walma, which is delimited, as in the foregoing sector, entirely by place-names on the Hulyan side: Waltannas; Usawalas, Allubrattas, and Huhhuras. All four of these names are instructive, and, exceptionally, one of them can possibly be localized from an independent source. This is Waltanna, which in the title deed of Sahurunuwa<sup>78</sup> appears to be associated with the immediate environs of Lusna in the form Wartanna. If this interpretation be sustained, it provides a welcome item of independent corroboration which affects the frontier as a whole. Otherwise, in the lack of fixed positions, the evidence is en-

tirely circumstantial, and the validity of our conclusions must rely chiefly on the method of cumulative agreement. The next name on the list, Usawalas, has always seemed to me to be the Hittite ancestor of the classical Isaura; and, now that its position has been approximately localized, the equation seems almost probable. Some intelligent soundings on the site, here as elsewhere, would be extremely helpful.<sup>79</sup> Allubrattas recalls the Assyrian name Illubru given to a great fortified and battlemented city which Sennacherib took by storm.<sup>80</sup> This episode has been graphically interpreted from the records and mural illustrations by Professor Olmstead:

Illubru lay on both sides of a river, and was guarded by long low walls with equi-distant towers, ornamented with cornices and angular battlements. The houses were large and square; the windows, high up under the roof, were adorned with Ionic columns. . . . The suburb across the river was less crowded; there were numerous trees. . . .<sup>81</sup>

The site was reached by the invading army after a long march up a winding valley which (as in the case of Sinuhti already mentioned) would probably be the Calycadnos.<sup>82</sup> This description, though sug-

<sup>79</sup> The Hittite origin of the site on Zenzibar Kalesi is not attested; but Hamilton alludes to its acropolis—a feature not infrequently the Hittite nucleus of classical cities (see his *Researches in Asia Minor*, II, 332).

<sup>80</sup> *Ca.* 696 B.C., Kirua being at that time chief of Illubru.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. A. T. Olmstead, *The Assyrians in Asia Minor* ("Anatolian Studies"), pp. 6–7.

<sup>82</sup> The inhabitants of Tarzi (Tarsus) and Ingira (Anchiale) opposed the passage of the Assyrian troops by siezing "the road of Que." It is worth noting that Karaduvar, where Anchiale is usually located, lies many miles west of the natural junction of the road through the Cilician Gates with the east-west trade route on which that village stands: the fork occurs, in fact, to the east of Tarsus. The suggestion is inescapable that both places would be primarily concerned with the coastal route which connects directly with the Calycadnos Valley rather than with that through the Cilician Gates. It is indeed very doubtful if the latter was open for wheeled traffic. With further regard to Anchiale, explorations of the Neilson Expedition in that part of the Cilician Plain

<sup>77</sup> So also Goetze; see his n. 198 on p. 52 of his *Kizzuwatna*.

<sup>78</sup> *KUB XXVI*, 43–58 (trans. O. R. Gurney).

gestive, is fairly characteristic of the historic sites of this locality, even those of Iconium, Lystra, and Kilistra. But the natural border line lies farther west, past the Küzil Ören some twenty miles west of Konia; and here Ramsay marks the site of Siniandos on the map which illustrates his own explorations of the district.<sup>83</sup> We know, however, very little as yet about the origin of these sites. Assuming these names to follow a geographical sequence, the last one, Huhhuras, must refer to some place nearer the border of Walma and Pitassa, such as the very ancient site of Sizma. In the area indicated by our scheme, two names of mountains may have some significance in this connection: the border range itself, Mount Hakit, and Mount Kahkal, which makes union with the Boz Dagħ and completes the boundary circuit of the Charsemba Chai. Looking back on the broad result of this peregrination, we see that no definite identifications can be established without more topographical and archeological investigation, such as could be accomplished, however, in a summer holiday by a zealous student.

It will be opportune to consider at this stage the implications of another text (*KUB XXI 6a*) already mentioned, in which Walma and other now familiar names are definitely involved. This document gives in fact a list of lands and places wrested by conquest from Hattusil III, doubtless by some hereditary enemy from Arzawa. The relevant part of the list, as translated and arranged for me by Dr. Gurney, reads as follows:

Walma; Watta . . . ; Nahita; Sallusa; Šanhata; Suri[sta]; Walwara; Hawali . . . ; Inasara; Kuwalapasa

have failed to locate a site at Karaduvar that might be attributed to the period; but it must be added that the area is very sand-blown, and excavation or extensive soundings might be more successful.

<sup>83</sup> In his *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 385. Callander, *op. cit.* (with map), names it Sinnada.

There follows the significant clause: "Above, [he made] Zallara his boundary: on the one side [was] the Lower Land; on the other side Harziuna."

In addition to the district name Walma, some of the place-names are already familiar. Nahita we have seen to be the modern Nigdeh; Sanhata we have found on the southern border of the Hulaya River Land and tentatively equated with the Assyrian Sinuhti. Walwaras we have already found on the same sector of the frontier as the foregoing, and we may note again the peculiar significance of the claim that it had formerly belonged to Hatti. Lastly, Zallara, placed deliberately between Harziuna and the Lower Land, must lie—as already inferred—in the vicinity of the Tuz Geul, probably toward its northern end. The sequence of these names suggests the possibility of reading into the document the main lines of the incursion—as debouching into the open, so to speak, from the northern parts of Walma, perhaps by way of Ilghin, then striking across the plain to Zallara, thereafter on to Nahita (perhaps already the strong place of the region), and returning thence by the southern route past Walwara and Sanhata via Beyshehr to Arzawa.<sup>84</sup> The list is, however, a record of places lost to Hattusil, not the narrative of a raid; so that the circuit followed by the names must be read to indicate the areas overrun by the enemy rather than the route taken by the invading force. It is interesting, however, to note that the geographical sequence of these names was evidently familiar to the Hittite archivists; and even more note-

<sup>84</sup> Though the lay of the land westward of Beyshehr, with a succession of rough mountain ridges and valleys running north and south, made it hopeless for a hostile force to attempt the invasion of Arzawa by a direct march westward from that center, these obstacles would not prevent native or allied troops from using freely any of the mountain tracks that suited their purpose.



worthy for our purpose is the absence of any reference to Dadassas, which thus seems to have lain outside the zone of conquest.

This brings us to our concluding problem: where lay, in fact, the Land of Dadassas? Looking back through these pages, we find that, while there is abundant detailed information about the Hulaya River Land which it adjoined, all that we have learned about the land and city of Dadassas may be summed up in a few sentences:

1. It adjoined the Hulaya River Land, which, by the treaty we have been considering, became part of its territory.<sup>85</sup> There is a faint suggestion that the common boundary was rough hill country.

2. It had access on the Hittite side to Dunna, where there was a shrine of a local storm-god other than the tutelary deity of the place.<sup>86</sup> The latter shrine was located probably at Tynna near Faustinopolis, possibly at Zieve. This is not far from the entrance to the Cilician Gates, and the contexts of Salias also point in this direction.

3. According to Dr. Goetze's reading of "Dadassis" as a case form, the name Dadassas actually occurs in the boundary description of the Hulaya River Land next after Hatti and before Walma.

4. The city of Dadassas was located in or near the Lower Land by which it was normally approached.<sup>87</sup> It may also be assumed to have occupied a seemingly safe or defensible position.

Can any theory consistent with our main conclusion about the Hulaya River

Land be found that will assemble these several facts and outstanding questions in single and plausible solution? Reconsideration now shows this to be possible, and the geographical implications of our text again provide the clue.

Dadassas made common frontier with the Hulaya River Land at some point. Can we detect a sector where our boundary seemed vague and might be subject to realignment? Clearly not within the close ring of known states or districts—Walma, Pitassa, Ussa, and Hatti—which we have seen to circumscribe the Hulaya River Land compactly around its western, northern, and eastern borders. We must look, then, to the southeast and south, between Hatti and Walma, the "Neighbor Land" which we have already recognized as nebulous. The westerly part of this territory, central Isauria, has already been considered and rejected. The central part consists of a strip of broken foothills lying between the southern border of the plain and the barrier of Taurus—roughly from Karaman to Isaura, but excluding both. This tract certainly nurtured in antiquity some fine cities and claims a number of defensible positions. But it lay too near the routes between Hapalla in southeastern Arzawa and the Lower Land (with which we may associate Tuwanuwa) for the name of Dadassas to have escaped mention in the several records of wars and raids between these districts had the city or its domain been located in this area. A similar observation applies to the list involving Walma, considered above, in which Sanhata on the southern border of the plain is actually mentioned as a place lost to Hatti; but there is no allusion in any of these contexts to Dadassas, which must accordingly be sought elsewhere.

Having now eliminated all other possibilities in our attempt to locate Da-

<sup>85</sup> "The land which I have given to thee Ulmi-Teshup, the frontiers which I have set for thee, protect them, do not violate them. Thy frontiers are laid down as follows" (Gur. MSS). The frontiers in question are those of the Hulaya River Land which we have examined.

<sup>86</sup> See what is said above on this subject, with n. 15.

<sup>87</sup> See the contexts of Dadassas at the beginning of this article, with nn. 6-7.

dassas, we turn to the basin of the Sughla Chai which adjoined the southeast border of the Plain of Konia, the Land of the Hulaya River. Here the outlook is quite different. Early in this article we noticed that this district was devoid of Hittite monuments and place-names; later, that it was apparently nameless, and there was nothing to show whether it should be grouped with the local district of Hatti or with the nebulous Neighbor Land of our text. Even more significant was the fact that, when tracing its common frontier with the Hulaya River Land along the natural border of the latter past the Kara Dag, we found ourselves in an impasse near the Busola Dag, where we had seemingly to locate Salias—a place associated on other evidence with the vicinity of the Cilician Gates.<sup>88</sup> A further link with the latter neighborhood was found in the case of Dunna, where a shrine of Teshub was granted to the king of Dadassas. Does this river basin, or a part of it, where Goetze years ago located the Land of the Hulaya River,<sup>89</sup> represent then the lost Land of Dadassas? I am now convinced, having examined many alter-

natives, that this is the true and only logical solution.

Our problem seems to reduce itself to this: can the boundary described in our text quit the borders of the Plain of Konia at some point and make a detour, so as to inclose also the basin of the Sughla Chai? Let us see whether and where this might be possible. A glance at the map will suffice to show that such a detour might well start from the eastern anchor point of the Hulaya boundary in the Karajah Dag, which is securely linked with Mount Arlanda of our text by its proximity to Hatti and its associated lake. Our new boundary line, instead of turning southwest at this landmark, as does that of the plain, will in fact keep on southeast. Crossing the fresh-water lake Ak Geul, it will climb along the ridge of the Ivriz Dag (the new Mount Sarlaimmis) to join the Bulghar Dag, which, as the mightiest range in Taurus, equates convincingly with the High Mountain; and so westward along the crest of that natural barrier.

Reference now to our schedules will show that this alignment conforms with the indications of the boundary text. Significantly, only one place-name appears in this sector on the Hulayan side of the border after quitting the vicinity of Mount Arlanda, namely, Ninaintas. This seems to be otherwise unknown; but it is here placed vis-à-vis with Sinuwanta which has been provisionally located between Ivriz and Loulon, near the entrance to the Cilician Gates, while the boundary whereabouts is marked by a Mount Lulas,<sup>90</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Salias is associated in the title deed already quoted (*KUB XXVI* 43–58) with Patuwanda, which is neatly identified by Goetze (*Kizz.*, 53) with Podandos (the modern Bozanti) in the Cilician Pass; and, though the geographical relations in this document are mostly vague, the further association of Salias with the High Mountain, as in the Hulaya text, seems to confirm the grouping. Salias, clearly the same place, is mentioned also as a point on the frontier of Kizzuwadna with Hatti in the Sunassura treaty, wherein also it is expressly reserved to Hatti. It would be irrelevant to discuss this frontier in detail; but Salias appears in the second of four sectors counting from the sea. There is no suggestion of mountains associated with it, but it might be fortified. For these and other reasons, I would trace the frontier of Kizzuwadna at first to the south of Taurus, and only later along the crest of Anti-Taurus; and I would locate Salias accordingly at some strategic and defensible position at the southern end of the pass, either over the "Gates" themselves, where Ibrahim Pasha later built his forts, or at some strong post farther west.

<sup>89</sup> Goetze, *KAF*, I, 112.

<sup>90</sup> I do not attempt to locate this evidently local landmark. It may be related to the "Fief of Gold Stick," which itself presents an interesting problem. On present evidence I am tempted to identify the Bozanti Su, near the headwaters of which Loulon stands, with the Yellow River (*id.* *SIG*7) of our texts. This district would thus form an appropriate southern terminus to the zone of Hattusil's frontier command (Goetze, *Hatt.*, p. 21). The record tells us that this assignment included control of the gold-diggers; and

a name which also suggests the vicinity of Loulon. On the outer side, by contrast, Hittite names continue to mark the frontier as far as Salias. Moreover, the outstanding questions regarding Dunna and Salias are answered automatically. Whether in the same place as the national shrine, or elsewhere in the district of Dunna (which, to judge by the allusions to Tuna or Atuna in later Assyrian records, would seem to have had considerable extension), the Hittite shrine allocated to Dadassas would be readily accessible, the distance from the border being less than thirty miles. As for Salias, the Bulghar Dagħ looks down at one end on the Cilician Gates, near the lower exit from which I tentatively locate this strategic point.

We are now in a position to appreciate the full significance of Dr. Goetze's independent rendering of the penultimate paragraph of the boundary text,<sup>91</sup> to which allusion has already been made several times. It covers the whole sector between Hatti and Walma, the published version being as follows:

On its [i.e., Tattassas's] exterior side, Walwara and whatever is Walwara's . . . Mata, Sanhada, Larimma (and) Saranduwa belong to Tattassa.

This suggestive reading seems not only to confirm our main conclusion as to the location of Dadassas but to shed fresh light on the rest of the hitherto nebulous

Neighbor Land. It upholds the probability that our text describes the boundaries of the Hulaya River Land and Dadassas in one continuous circuit, regarding the fusion of these territories as a *fait accompli*.<sup>92</sup> It locates the latter next after Hatti in the circuit, as we do; and it further indicates the rectification of frontier in the sector between Dadassas and Walma consequent upon the new arrangement. Some modification would clearly have been necessary at and from the point of junction if the original border of the Hulaya River Land in the south coincided with that of the Plain of Konia. Presumably the common frontier would now be advanced to follow the chain of Taurus; indeed, no physical boundary other than the High Mountain is mentioned in this sector. However that may be, this version contains a further suggestion of far-reaching character. From Salias westward, Dadassas was bounded on its outer side by the territory of Walwaras. Dr. Goetze courteously informs me that the word omitted after that name in his published reading is plainly to be read *ú-pa-ti*, which is untranslatable but marked as "foreign"; and we have already seen this name on the list of places and districts lost to Hattusil, the author of our document. The position assigned to Walwaras seems to locate it in the upper basin of the Calycadnos, between the Hittite Lower Land and the sea, an area controlled in later times by the powerful priest-kings of Olba (now Ura or Oura).

As for the city of Dadassas, the mushroom capital of Muwatalli, I fail to find any clue, archeological or otherwise, as to its location. Exploration among the sheltered valleys in the foothills of Taurus may one day disclose its ruins, beside one of the more permanent affluents of the "drying-up" stream, the Sugħla Chai.

the river in question is fed, as it nears Bozanti, by the stream that passes by Bulghar Maden, site of the most prolific gold (and silver) mines of the country. This is not the only coincidence. The river is one of the few that break through Taurus, and thus it descended into Kizzuwadna. Now the one instance where the name of the *fp. sig7* is spelled out, though broken, appears to end in . . . uwadna, a termination which does not appear to my knowledge in any other area. The reading I glean from Dr. Gurney's *Notes*; cf. also *KUB XXVI*, 43 obv. 31 and 50 obv. 25.

<sup>91</sup> Goetze, *Kizz.*, p. 52 and n. 198; cf. also his remarks in *KAF*, 1927 p. 109.

<sup>92</sup> See above, n. 85.

Anatolia still guards many secrets against the ravages of time.

To sum up this long discussion: Dadassas was normally approached from the Lower Land, to which also belonged the Hulaya River. The term "Lower Land," to judge from specific contexts, was not a vague geographical pointer but the name of a defined low-lying area comprising several Hittite districts to the west of Tuwana (at Bor) and so including the Plain of Konia. This plain is watered by the Charsemba Chai, a river which, after examination of other possibilities, seems best to satisfy the known criteria of the Hulaya River. The boundaries of the Plain of Konia also conform remarkably with those of the Hulaya River Land described in our text but encounter a snag to the southeast in the location of Salias. This and other considerations suggest that the boundary defined leaves the Plain of Konia at its most easterly point and con-

tinues south to join the Taurus Range above the Cilician Gates, turning thence westward. It will thus inclose the contiguous basin of the Sughla Chai, where alone Dadassas can be located. Taurus thus becomes the High Mountain of the Hittite texts; and it formed the continuous southern frontier of the joint territory Dadassas-Hulaya as far as the debated district of Walma in the west. The southern neighbor of Dadassas, according to Professor Goetze's reading of the relevant portion of the text—amply confirmed by the topographical indications—would be the district of the city of Walwara, to which accordingly we must assign a part at least of the Calycadnos Valley, between the rival frontiers of Kizzuwadna and Arzawa near the southern coast. The local name Ura may thus be derived from the Hittite Walwara.

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# VERGILIUS

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DEOS LATIO: WESTERN ASIA MINOR AND THE GODS OF AENEAS

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## DEOS LATIO: WESTERN ASIA MINOR

### AND THE GODS OF AENEAS

In spite of the hostility of no less a being than Juno, Aeneas is often criticized on the grounds that he is too 'good' to be convincing; that his pietas, in spite of his human lapse in Book IV, is not attractive. But his critics, by not sensing the implications of Juno's anger, ignore at any rate one crime of which Vergil makes Aeneas guilty.<sup>1</sup> It will be my purpose in this paper to throw the searchlight on that area of his behaviour, and to consider whether in fact he always acted as correctly as his detractors would have us believe; and to consider further, if he can be held guilty of the crime suggested, what effect this has on the narrative of the Aeneid and what effect it may have had on those for whom Vergil wrote.

If then critics can find Aeneas too good, in spite of so significant a pointer as the hostility of Juno, let us start from this angle, considering possible reasons for her anger against the Trojans, and its significance in relation to the theme of the poem. 'What spirit was offended that Aeneas should suffer such toils?'<sup>2</sup>

Now the hostility of Juno towards Aeneas and the Trojans is one of the basic motivating forces in the Aeneid. It takes hold of the narrative at the beginning of Book I, and is allayed only towards the end of Book XII. While this is obvious and in no need of elaboration, reference should however be made to certain points not always noticed in this regard. First, the portrayal of Juno's hostility is none too flattering. It is at times suggestive of human passions (e.g. Aeneid 1. 39-41; 7. 291; 10. 85-95); it is usually undignified (1. 71-75; 7. 301-340); in special cases it even earns her the epithets saeva and furens (7. 287; 2. 613). Such portrayal is odd, when one considers that she is in many ways accorded great prestige by Vergil as the consort of Jupiter, and that she had been highly honoured in Rome from the time of her association with Jupiter and Minerva in the great temple on the Capitol. It would be thought that Vergil, who like Horace was anxious to cooperate with Augustus in the revival of Roman religion, would do all he could to associate Juno with the Fatum Romanum, whereas in fact he makes her its bitterest foe. Lest we should miss the significance of this point he even omits her from the shield of Aeneas, the instrument of his final triumph. Whatever we may think of the literary effectiveness of Juno's opposition in the poem, it would seem to pose a problem from the point of view of Roman religion, let alone of good taste.

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<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of another lapse from pietas see R. Allain, "Une 'nuit spirituelle' d'Enée", REL 24 (1946) 190; cf. W. Warde Fowler, The Religious Experience of the Roman People (London 1911) 412-416.

<sup>2</sup>Cyril Bailey, Religion in Virgil (Oxford 1935) 64; cf. Aen. 1. 8-11 and Ovid, Trist. 1. 2. 7.

Why did Vergil portray Juno thus, with unflattering details, as an enemy of Rome? It is unlikely that he was merely imitating Homer. Juno was admittedly the traditional protectress of the Greeks, and Vergil loses no opportunity of incorporating any idea from Homer which might stress the continuity from the Iliad to the Aeneid; at the same time he stresses her enmity much more than does his predecessor, and whereas the Iudicium Paridis (l. 27) may help to justify her enmity towards the Trojans in the Iliad (e.g. 24.25-30), in the Aeneid her role is mainly that of antagonism to the future Romans, an idea well beyond Homer's range. And apart from the unsuitability of portraying Juno as the enemy of Rome, if Vergil wished to stress the feeling of continuity between the two poems, the Aeneid is full of other ideas capable of achieving this same result; and it will be shown later, at any rate in regard to one significant detail, that Vergil ignores Homer when he wishes. Again, it might be suggested that this portrayal was intended to have a historical significance. But even the idea that Juno was the patron-goddess of the newly founded Carthage (l. 12-33) is countered by the fact that there was a contemporary cult also at Troy (2.761). Or was it natural that Juno, originally non-Roman, might be expected to resist the Roman advance? But in what sense was she non-Roman? Because she became the wife of Jupiter only under Greek influence? Because she came from Etruria during the era of the Tarquins?<sup>3</sup> In this case, as Juno rather than a Romanized Hera, she was always Italian. As the Romans were to be a fusion between native Italian stock and the Trojan invaders, it is unlikely that Vergil, Italic at heart, would portray Juno in unflattering terms merely because the Italians were at first opposed to the Trojans.

While rejecting the above suggestions, we thus return to what appears to be the basic question. Why Juno? Why not Neptune, for instance, who was no less responsible for the destruction of Troy (e.g. 2.610-612), and who had a special grievance against the Trojans on account of the crime of Laomedon?<sup>4</sup> The blackening of Neptune's character would have had little injurious effect upon the religious revival in which Augustus and Vergil were interested. Yet, although such an obviously suitable instrument of opposition to the Trojans was ready to hand, Vergil makes no use of him in that connection. He prefers to use Juno; and the fact that he does use her thus, in spite of the prestige he wished her to regain in the Roman world of his day, is a point of more than ordinary significance. It is as if he deliberately wishes to draw the attention of his readers towards her enmity, so that they may be prompted to search for and appreciate the real reason for it, whatever it may be.

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<sup>3</sup> See Warde Fowler, op. cit. 94, 135-136, 237, 318; also Virgil's Gathering of the Clans (Oxford 1918) 38-39; cf. Bailey, op. cit. 129 ff.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Il. 20, 1-66; 21, 435-457. Though Vergil mentions the crime of Laomedon as being responsible for Trojan and Roman misfortunes in Georg. 1. 501-502, he does not allude to it thus in the Aeneid. For a discussion of this matter see J. B. Garstang, "The Crime of Helen and the Concept of fatum in the Aeneid," CJ 57 (1962) 337-345.

Does Vergil suggest any other reason for Juno's enmity? If we are prepared to be receptive towards Vergilian subtlety, a form of technique at times employed by the poet when he has an important message for his readers,<sup>5</sup> we find that he does. Let us then, in this respect, bring together three apparently unrelated details of the narrative.

First we note a very emphatic statement made by Helenus in the course of his prophetic utterance to Aeneas, to the effect that the worship of Juno, if the Trojans are to arrive safely in Italy, is of greater importance than anything else - *unum proque omnibus*. This advice is given explicitly and at considerable length (3.433-440). Secondly we have the words of Juno, who justifies her persecution of the Trojans by citing as a parallel the fact that Diana had once persecuted the people of Calydon (7.305-306). The reason for Diana's anger, it will be recalled, was the fact that Oeneus of Calydon had failed to offer due sacrifice to her (Ovid, *Met.* 8.271-281). The slaying of the Calydonian boar was a well known tale, and the allusion would not be lost on Vergil's readers. Thirdly we have the words of Venus when she tries to explain the reason for Juno's anger against the Trojans, words which could mean that there had been something lacking in the *pietas* of Aeneas and the Trojans as regards the propitiation of Juno (5.781-783). Are we entitled to discover, in the conjunction of these three details, the type of hint for which we are searching? Does Aeneas in fact, in spite of the explicit warning of Helenus, ignore the worship of Juno?

When we examine the narrative in search of the answer, we find that Aeneas at best carried out the instruction of Helenus only half-heartedly. For instance, when the Trojans have left Buthrotum and disembark for a while in a harbour adjoining a temple of Minerva in southeast Italy, they offer prayers to Juno indeed, but it is only as it were secondary worship, accorded because Helenus had commanded it (3.546), and coming after they had offered prayers to the holy divinity of Pallas as being the one who had first welcomed them to Italy (544). This is brought to the reader's attention by words put by Vergil into the mouth of Juno soon after the happenings of Book III. 'Pallas has her way,' she says in effect (1.34-49). 'But what about my worship? Is anyone now likely to honour my altars?' Her point of view would appear to be justified, as Vergil records no detail of Juno worship between that in southeast Italy just noted and the beginning of Book VIII (60-84), and possible objections to a negative argument in this case are tempered by positive remarks such as that quoted above, taken in conjunction with Juno's later suggestion that her *numen* may have been weakened by her dealings with Aeneas and the Trojans (7.297, 310). Only towards the end of the narrative does Aeneas seem to acknowledge the true dignity merited by Juno, when he includes her among Sun, Earth, Jupiter, Mars and other deities in the invocation preceding his oath to Latinus (12.176-182); but it remains for Jupiter in the final scene to make it clear that Juno will not become just one deity among many (838-840). This then, the neglect of the worship of Juno in spite of specific warning, I suggest is the 'crime of Aeneas,' on account of which he deservedly incurs her anger and hostility during the bulk of the narrative.

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<sup>5</sup>For subtlety as a conscious element of Vergil's technique see Robert J. Getty, "Romulus, Roma, and Augustus in the Sixth Book of the *Aeneid*," CP 45 (1950) 1-12.



This suggestion, however, though it would give us an understanding of Juno's personal motives, and we can appreciate Vergil's desire to emphasize a correct attitude towards Juno worship, would not give us an explanation of his possible reasons for using her thus in the narrative. Would he not have achieved such objectives more effectively, perhaps, by showing that Juno, the traditional enemy of the Trojans, was induced by the pietas of their leader to lay aside her anger and become instead one of their champions? Yet Vergil does not do this. He allows his hero to be wanting not only in pietas during most of the narrative, but even in general intelligence, in that for a long while he ignores or forgets the explicit advice of Helenus; and at the same time he allows Juno to appear in a bad light from the beginning to nearly the end of a national epic. If without good explanation, such portrayal of Aeneas and of Juno would be unsatisfactory.

Let us then, in another approach to this problem, consider whether Aeneas in fact ignores the worship of Juno because of some counter attraction. For if there was a counter attraction, it is possible that this, rather than the crime of Aeneas, was the main object of Vergil's censure, and that the anger of Juno, now artistically justified, would be (for the intelligent reader) a vivid pointer in the right direction.

The answer to this question, it seems to me, may be found in the fact of the east to west movement of the Trojans; for as it was the duty of Aeneas to bring his gods to Latium (l. 6), the direction of this movement, if one thinks in terms of a counter attraction connected with religion, is at once suggestive. Especially is this so for the period in which Vergil wrote, when in the eyes of the Romans an oriental queen had so nearly brought the Empire to ruin. In contemplating Troy and their early origins, they clearly drew a sharp distinction between the western seaboard of Asia Minor, with its traditional links pointing across the Hellespont towards Europe, and districts such as Phrygia which, once lying within the unifying Hittite orbit, were naturally exposed to the influence of Syria and Egypt and the oriental world beyond. The ancient Trojans were in a sense situated on the borderland of this oriental world, and one recalls that Vergil, patriotic in the Italian rather than in the imperial sense, was like Horace consistently opposed to oriental influences (e. g. 4. 261-264; 8. 685-688; cf. Horace, *Od.* 3. 5. 5-12; l. 38). It would certainly be possible that a writer like Vergil, while accepting the Trojans as co-founders of Roman destiny, should at the same time wish to reject certain of the attributes which they may be supposed to have brought with them from their home land.

Does Vergil give us any hints or suggestions about a religious movement which came to Italy from the east? Such a movement, if it is to be a valid explanation of our problem, should be closely associated with the Trojans in the poem, and such as could be set in artistic opposition to the worship of Juno; should represent an element of religion which a Roman might reasonably wish to criticize, and (in view of the subtlety of treatment) concern a matter in which it would be natural for the poet to use caution, something possibly connected with the religious revival stimulated by Augustus, something of which Augustus approved but Vergil did not.

Now the worship of Cybele, the Magna Mater, conforms to all the above conditions, and it is moreover found to be associated with the Trojans in the *Aeneid* to an extent not usually appreciated. Historically, as one will recall, the cult officially came to Rome towards the end of the Second Punic War. She was the first oriental deity to come to Rome, and the last deity

introduced to Rome on the instruction of the Sibylline Books.<sup>6</sup> But she had also, from the earliest times, been closely associated with the Troad. It would thus be reasonable to suppose, if only as a problem in legendary speculation, that the Trojans who left the Troad under the leadership of Aeneas, though they did not introduce Cybele worship to Hesperia, were closely identified with it before and during their wanderings.

Vergil at any rate clearly associates the cult of Cybele with the Trojans. Her worship, according to Anchises, had been originally introduced from Crete (3.111), and Mount Ida was one of her abodes (9.620; 10.252; cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 4.249-264). The cult had its priesthood in Troy (11.768), dating perhaps from the time of Dardanus.<sup>7</sup> The ship of Aeneas, with the lions of Cybele beneath its beak and Mount Ida, is a natural and welcome sight to the Trojans in exile (10.153-158); natural too is the taunt of Numanus, who urges the Trojans to return to Cybele (9.619). The old form of the name, Cybebe, (10.220), suggests the connection with the Anatolian 'Kubaba,' who, though she plays a relatively small part in Hittite texts so far discovered and the place of her origin is uncertain, is regarded as the prototype of the Phrygian Cybene-Cybele.<sup>8</sup> Vergil also uses the term 'Phrygia mater' (7.139), and emphasizes the connection between Cybele and Phrygia, especially the heights of Didymus and Berecynthus where she was worshipped (e.g. 6.784; 9.82, 618); and Berecynthia, apart from the fact that 'Phrygia' could connote 'Hellespontine Phrygia' and the Troad, is linked with the Trojans also through the legend of Romus, son of Aeneas.<sup>9</sup>

The family of Aeneas is specially connected with Cybele. Creusa, for instance, is detained in Troy by the Magna Mater (2.788; cf. Paus. 10.26.1), and Anchises, if one can accept the allusion, is seated on a lion skin during the flight.<sup>10</sup> Two passages moreover suggest that Cybele worship was important to him, his references to the origins of her cult in Crete just noted, also his allusion to Cybele in the Underworld, where he equates her with a personified 'Roma,' the parent of Augustus, just as Cybele was the

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<sup>6</sup>Livy 29.10.4-8; 11.5-9; 14.5-14. See G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (Munich 1912<sup>2</sup>) 63, 317 ff; Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience*, 330; Franz Altheim, *A History of Roman Religion* (London 1938) 309 ff.; for a full bibliography see Frazer on Ovid, *Fast.* 4.247.

<sup>7</sup>See Henri Graillot, *La Culte de Cybèle* (Paris 1912) 43.

<sup>8</sup>See O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (London 1952) 21-23; John Garstang, *The Hittite Empire* (London 1929) 281; cf. Pausanias 3.22.4.

<sup>9</sup>For a discussion and bibliography see Graillot, *op. cit.* 42; see also G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* (Munich 1904) 101ff.; Frazer, *op. cit.* 233.

<sup>10</sup>*Aen.* 2.722; cf. Robert W. Cruttwell, *Virgil's Mind at Work* (Oxford 1946) 10.

mother of Jupiter.<sup>11</sup> With Aeneas himself the connection is even closer. It will be recalled, for instance, that in early legend he was associated with Mount Ida,<sup>12</sup> that Vergil takes him there after his escape from Troy (2.801-804), and that he is assisted by Cybele in the building of his fleet in that district (3.5-6; 9.80-89; 10.230-235). In these passages he is perhaps the passive recipient as it were of the association with Cybele, but one should take special note of his prayer to Cybele at a moment of crisis, just before his landing in enemy country (10.252-255). This remarkable invocation suggests a relationship between Aeneas and Cybele comparable to his connection with Venus, a development 'without precedent in previous legend.'<sup>13</sup> Another passage illustrative of the relationship between Aeneas and Cybele is that in which he offers up a prayer of gratitude after the happy fulfilment of the tables prophecy (7.135-140). He is praying here to the deities of his new home, yet he allows Cybele, the goddess of his former home, as it were to usurp the place of Juno; the omission of the latter is the more noticeable because of the naming of the other deities; moreover the reference to 'Jupiter of Ida' in association with Cybele, though perhaps a Homeric echo, may also be intended to stress this idea of usurpation, an idea not inconsistent with the fact that, whereas Juno as *Saturnia* was the daughter of Saturn (e.g. 12.830), Jupiter was the son of Cybele (9.82-84).<sup>14</sup> Nor can Aeneas compensate for his omission by sacrificing to Juno the following day, when he discovers the white sow with her litter (8.81-85). Not only is the description of that scene brief and casual in comparison with the prayer now being considered, but he performs the sacrifice only at the bidding of the god Tiber who has appeared to him in a night vision (8.42-47, 59-61), much as his previous sacrifice to Juno had been at the special bidding of Helenus.

We thus note that the cult of Cybele conforms to certain conditions stipulated earlier. It is closely associated with the Trojans and Aeneas in the poem; it can be set in artistic opposition to the worship of Juno; it is clearly an element of religion which a Roman might reasonably wish to criticize. After the arrival of Cybele in Rome the truth about her ritual was soon discovered, and the Senate passed a decree forbidding citizens to take part in the worship; but if one accepts the poem of Catullus as evidence

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<sup>11</sup>Aen. 6.784 ff.; 9.82-94; cf. Suetonius, Aug. 52. See esp. Getty, op. cit. 9.

<sup>12</sup>E.g. Homer, Il. 2.819-823; 20.199-240; Hesiod, Theog. 1007; cf. Büchner in R.E. Vol. 9.1 (17th half vol. 1914) 862. For Cybele and Mt. Ida cf. Aen. 9.617-620; 10.252; Dion. Hal. 1.47; Strabo 1.2.38; Bailey, op. cit. 175; Graillot, op. cit. 43.

<sup>13</sup>Bailey, op. cit. 176-177.

<sup>14</sup>Jupiter, who as Zeus can visit his worshippers in Ethiopia (Homer, Il. 1.423-425, 493-495), is not necessarily localized in mythological times. For Juno as *Saturnia* see W. S. Anderson "Juno and Saturn in the Aeneid," Studies in Philology 55 (1958) 519-532.

there is no reason to suppose that the problem at a later date had become any less acute.<sup>15</sup> Vergil's disapproval of Cybele worship, once noted through its association with Juno's anger, can be readily perceived. It is specially significant, for instance, that he should allow it to bring Juno into conflict with his Roman hero Aeneas. Even where the poet at first sight seems not unfavourably disposed towards Cybele, in bestowing on her the epithet *alma*, one finds that this occurs only in contexts where Aeneas is speaking (10. 252) or where her sympathy towards the Trojans is for some reason underlined (10. 220, cf. 9. 80-122), just as her association with Roma, noted above, is put into the mouth of Anchises. Moreover an intelligent reader would notice that Vergil, while thus closely identifying the Trojans with Cybele, is significantly ignoring the Homeric tradition. Neither the *Iliad* nor the *Odyssey* contains any reference to Cybele,<sup>16</sup> and the only deity associated by Homer with Mount Ida is Zeus.<sup>17</sup> If we can accept the idea that Vergil desired to establish a continuity between the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid* wherever possible, in order to help justify the belief there expressed that the fates of the gods were somehow linked to the destiny of Rome from the earliest times,<sup>18</sup> we may assume that his divergence from Homeric tradition in this case would help to draw attention to those elements in the narrative, the association of Cybele with the Trojans and Aeneas, in which the details were new.

Did Vergil have a political motive in incorporating Cybele thus into his poem? Was he tactfully criticizing, for the benefit of contemporary Romans, the prevailing tendencies of Cybele worship? This seems by no means unlikely. The cult moreover had tended if anything to revive during the early Empire, and if we recall the policy of Augustus towards oriental religions, that he desired to encourage those which were 'veteres ac praeceptas' (Suet. *Aug.* 93), and that he no less than Julius Caesar was anxious

<sup>15</sup>Dion. Hal. 2.19; Catullus, 63, *Atys*; cf. Lucretius, 2. 600; Warde Fowler, *op. cit.* 330; Altheim, *op. cit.* 309-310, 333.

<sup>16</sup>It is doubtful whether one can make any inference from the fact that Paris has a panther skin (*Il.* 3.16). Menelaus has a leopard skin (10. 31), and Agamemnon and Diomedes have lion skins (10. 22, 180). The reference to Anchises and the lion skin in the *Aeneid* (above, note 10) is significant only because it is in line with clear references associating the family of Aeneas with Cybele.

<sup>17</sup>*Il.* 24. 305. Vergil here ignores earlier tradition so successfully that Ovid (*Fast.* 4. 249-254) can suggest that, when Aeneas was conveying Troy to the fields of Italy, Cybele "sacriferas paene secuta rates."

<sup>18</sup>J. B. Garstang, *op. cit.* 341-344.

to build up the family connection with Troy,<sup>19</sup> we can appreciate why Vergil, wishing to offer criticism, should at the same time feel obliged to proceed with extreme caution. Perhaps we may even regard it as a sign of his caution that, at an emphatic moment near the end of the poem, he implies the rejection of Cybele by Jupiter and at the same time builds up the dignity of Juno (12.830-841) who, no longer 'like a human being struggling against destiny,'<sup>20</sup> by opposing Aeneas till he becomes conscious of his error, plays a more dignified part in the narrative in relation to the concept of *Fatum Romanum*. Aeneas moreover, who also has his part to play, acknowledges the divinity of Juno with fitting respect, for the first time on his own initiative, on the occasion of his oath before the final combat (12.176-182). It would seem that his words here must be linked to those of Jupiter at the end, in their suggestion that the lesson has at last been learnt; as if Vergil, amid his poetic subtleties, has a message applicable both to the past and to the present. If Aeneas was instructed to bring his gods from Troy to Latium, as part of the idea of building up the dignity of Rome by its association with hallowed tradition, it must also be made clear that Juno, representing Italic deities, is no less important; just as there will be fusion of races, so also, provided harmful elements are omitted, must there be a fusion of worship.

What effect, if any, may the crime of Aeneas and its implications, as defined above, have had to those for whom Vergil wrote? The answer to this must depend on individual opinion. Vergil's subtlety in this case was considerable. No commentator has singled out this crime for special mention, or referred to the anger of Juno as merited by the backslidings of Aeneas. At the same time one should assume that the type of reader whose interest Vergil hoped to enlist would not fail to understand his message, however subtle its presentation. An educated Roman would appreciate hints and overtones more readily perhaps than one would now be willing to believe, and he was moreover physically surrounded by impressions which we can now imagine only at second hand. Even a brief reference to Cybele worship, words and phrases for instance like *Corybantia aera* or *buxus Berecynthia*, would mean much more to him than to us. It is not unreasonable to suppose that some at any rate of Vergil's readers, those who were accustomed to his technique, would somehow link his references to Cybele worship, in themselves restrained and dignified, with Aeneas' neglect of the worship of Juno. The effect of the message on Augustus is harder to assess, for there is some doubt as to how far Vergil could influence Augustus, and how far it was Augustus who in fact influenced Vergil.<sup>21</sup> Where Vergil's attitude is

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<sup>19</sup>Suet. *Div. Iul.* 39; 79.3; 81.1; *Aug.* 43.2; cf. Horace, *Od.* 3.3.37 ff. for a possible criticism of Augustus in this respect. See George E. Duckworth, "*Animae Dimidium Meae*: Two Poets of Rome," *TAPA* 87 (1956) 286, 302.

<sup>20</sup>Henry W. Prescott, *The Development of Virgil's Art* (Chicago 1927) 253.

<sup>21</sup>See Warde Fowler, *op. cit.* 428 and Duckworth, *op. cit.* page 281 note 3.

seen to coincide with that of Augustus, as for instance in the matter of Apollo, it is easy to suggest that the ideals of the poet led the way. In this case however, if Vergil was trying to be the leader, it would appear that he did not succeed. The restrictions connected with the worship of Cybele were withdrawn after the establishment of the Empire, and Augustus, starting his main reforms as Pontifex Maximus in 12 B.C., even restored the temple of the Magna Mater on the Palatine.<sup>22</sup>

If Aeneas did in fact commit this crime of which he is now accused, one might say that his reputation for pietas in this respect suffered in vain.

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<sup>22</sup>Mon. Anc. 19. 4.1-8: "... aedem Matris Magnae in Palatio feci. " Livy (36.36) states that the temple of the Idaean Magna Mater was dedicated in 191 B.C.; cf. Franz Cumont, The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism (Chicago 1911) 46 ff.



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Aeneas and the Sibyls

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## AENEAS AND THE SIBYLS

THE PROBLEM SUGGESTED by this title<sup>1</sup> is interesting but elusive. It will be my purpose to give a brief outline of its nature rather than try to justify any one solution.

The Sibyl during the process of her development "broke up," as Warde Fowler puts it,<sup>2</sup> "into several Sibyls." Though there is a good deal of uncertainty about them and the details of their cult, it is generally agreed that the term 'Sibyl' was applied to women possessing certain powers of prophecy, who were already flourishing in western Asia before the time of the Trojan War and were often associated, in the Mediterranean world, either with Apollo or with some shrine of Apollo.<sup>3</sup> It is with these Sibyls of the Mediterranean area, as viewed through the mists of legend and literature, that I am concerned.

Now the geographical locations of these Mediterranean Sibyls, with one significant exception, correspond in a curious way, whether by statement or by suggestion, with the wanderings of the Trojans under Aeneas. The following brief summary will illustrate this point.

(1) The Troad. According to tradition this district was a stronghold of Sibylline prophecy in antiquity. The Sibyl Herophile was born on Mount Ida before the Trojan War; her prophecies included the adultery of Helen and the

fall of Troy; she claimed to be Apollo's wife, sometimes sister or daughter, and in one tradition was spoken of as the keeper of the temple of Sminthian Apollo. Thymbra in the Troad also had an oracle of Apollo in existence at the time of the Trojan War (*Aen.* 3.85). There is later evidence, too, for a 'Hellespontine Sibyl.'<sup>4</sup> (2) Delos. The Sibyl Herophile dwelt there in the course of her journey from the Troad to the west. One may note too that the king of this island, Anius the contemporary of Anchises, is also *Phoebe sacerdos* (3.80). (3) The Strophades. The harpy Celaeno, who according to Vergil utters the 'famine' prophecy (3.255), is in fact quoting from a Sibyl. (4) Actium. Apart from the later temple of Apollo and its implications (3.275), one may assume that this district came under Herophile's influence during her journey in those parts. (5) Buthrotum. Helenus, speaking of the white sow (3.389), is also in fact quoting from a Sibyl's prophecy. A priestess, not a Sibyl, prophesied by divine inspiration in neighboring Dodona. (6) Chaonia (3.506-7). Here we have another prophetess of Sibyl type in the person of Phaemis (or Phaënnis), daughter of the king of the Chaonians. (7) Libya. The 'Libyan' Sibyl, daughter of Zeus and a mythical queen of Libya, was supposed to have been the earliest of all the Sibyls. (8) Cumae in Italy had a Sibyl, independently of Vergil's nar-



rative. (9) Latium also had a Sibyl, at Tibur.<sup>5</sup>

Before considering further such correspondences, whether real or fancied, it will be relevant if I mention here another area of agreement in regard to the Sibyls. It seems, not only in the light of arguments from the name itself, that they were probably Oriental in origin. There was a 'Persian' Sibyl, also a Sibyl connected with the Hebrews. The earliest description of prophetic ecstasy in the Near East, according to Egyptian records, relates to the visit of Wenamun as the Pharaoh's representative to a prince of Phoenicia towards the end of the 12th century B.C., and we read of prophets in Canaan as early as the sixth chapter of the Book of Judges. The possibility that the earlier Hittite kingdom may have been a channel of such prophecy is borne out by the tradition that a Sibyl at one time uttered prophecies as far east (or as far west, according to the point of view) as Ancyra; and there was also a 'Phrygian' Sibyl.<sup>6</sup> With the exception of the 'Erythraean' Sibyl (whom I shall discuss later), I believe that I have now mentioned all the recorded Sibyls.

How far can we trust the evidence, especially for the locations which suggest correspondences with the Trojan wanderings? Pausanias is one of our main sources. Though he lived long after Vergil, he was a native of western Asia, where most of the Sibyls are located, and there is no reason to assume that the details he records are fictitious. Moreover certain facts given by other later writers, for example Lactantius, suggest that they had other sources available besides Pausanias; and Pausanias also for his part seems to echo traditions as preserved by Strabo and early writers such as Heraclides Ponticus, the pupil of Plato.<sup>7</sup> And apart from such writers who give us information

directly bearing on the Sibyls, the somewhat vague picture as outlined above seems to be at times unexpectedly illuminated by other traditions; for instance the legend of the Trojan Penates coming from Samothrace to the Troad and thence to Italy, also *Terra et Caelum . . . dei magni*, especially the variant tradition according to which these were Neptune and Apollo.<sup>8</sup> There is also the legend that Aeneas went inland with Helenus from Buthrotum while Anchises stayed with the fleet, and there is a significant point of resemblance between the oracular shrine visited on that occasion and that of the Cumaean Sibyl.<sup>9</sup> In considering the trustworthiness of the evidence we may indeed feel that the history of the Sibyls is vague, belonging as it does to that ill-defined epoch antecedent to the formal history of the Greco-Roman world, where the chronology of early centuries was often as timeless as the Sibyls themselves; we may, however, assume, I think, that their geographical locations are reasonably certain, at any rate that the traditions connected with them were consistently believed; moreover that Vergil was well aware of all such traditions.

Now for the problem. Vergil could have brought his Trojans to Italy by the simple route described by Livy (1.1.4: to Latium by way of Macedonia and Sicily), adding a detour to Libya and Dido in accordance with the demands of his story. Yet he takes them by the circuitous and complex route with which we are familiar; a route which, while contributing little to the narrative except a few oracles, makes their wanderings seem to correspond with the geographical locations of the Mediterranean Sibyls. Does this point have any significance?

The following suggestions come to my mind: (1) The apparent correspond-

ence between the locations of the Sibyls and the wanderings of the Trojans was a coincidence; and although Vergil knew of the Sibyls and their locations, he devised that journey for his Trojans without any thought of the Sibyls in his mind. Those who are skeptical of new theories may favor this view. If on the other hand it was not a coincidence, I suggest that (2) the route was so chosen that the Trojans could receive the maximum assistance from oracular shrines during their journey. The shrines specified in the narrative are those of Apollo, already a supporter of the Trojans in the *Iliad* (in spite of his earlier hostility because of the crime of Laomedon), who now, perhaps in appreciation as it were of Augustus' favor,<sup>10</sup> becomes even more closely identified with their fortunes. (3) If the Sibyls were indeed Oriental in origin, Vergil wished to draw attention to the possibility that the Troad and the Trojans may have been the channel by which they entered the Aegean area and the west. (4) The correspondence was in part connected with parallel legends about the *sacra deosque*, such as the bringing of the *dei magni* to Italy. (5) For these or other reasons Vergil during the early planning of his poem may have considered the idea of the Sibyls' coming from western Asia to Italy at the same time as (even in company with) the Trojans, as part of their contribution (e.g. 12.192) to the early settlement of Latium. If so, we should have to assume that when he removed from the narrative all traces of their joint arrival, he left certain indications, the 'correspondences' noted above, as being not inconsistent with the poem as a whole.

This latter suggestion may be viewed with suspicion, but it should not be dismissed without a hearing. To begin with there was the legend, had Vergil

wished to use it, that the all-embracing journey of the Sibyl Herophile brought her also to Cumae in Italy (Paus. 10. 12.8; Lact. 1.6.10). The narrative of the *Aeneid*, moreover, implies that the Sibyl arrived in Cumae only some twenty or thirty years, at the most, before the Trojans; for Evander was certainly not older than Anchises (8.159ff.), and Livy tells us that Carmenta, the mother of Evander, was revered as a prophetess before the arrival of the Sibyl in Italy (1.7.8; cf. *Aen.* 8.333-41). Besides, we should note in this connection the somewhat abrupt opening of Book 6. For though the fame of Aeneas was widespread, as shown by many details in the narrative of Books 1 and 3, and the Sibyl certainly knew all about him before their meeting (e.g. 6.52,83,126), this is not suggested by the nature of her opening words — if, that is to say, they represent her greeting to a stranger. While we might have expected a greeting at least as welcoming if not as flattering as that given to the Trojans by Dido (1.562-73) and later by Latinus (7.195-6) and Evander (8.154-6), in fact we find nothing of the kind. Her first words seem unwelcoming and querulous. This is not the moment, she says in effect, to look at pictures (6.37). Servius (*in Aen.* 6.37) gives one of his prosaic interpretations of this passage, suggesting that Aeneas was in danger of missing the proper hour for oracular consultation; at the same time it will be appreciated that such a greeting would be quite natural if the Sibyl had been with the Trojans during their journey.

Whatever may be the merits of this idea, if the possibility can for one moment be entertained, that is if Vergil had indeed originally planned to bring the Sibyl to Italy with the Trojans, why did he finally present the narrative to us as we have it now? Why does he make no allusion even to the Sibyls in

the Troad, and confine his only mention of a Sibyl to the priestess of Apollo at Cumae?

Before elaborating this point let me first give some details about the 'significant exception' referred to at the outset, when I suggested that the locations of certain Mediterranean Sibyls corresponded with the wanderings of the Trojans. For the exception concerns Lydia, or the geographical area embraced by that name, which possessed a concentration of Sibyls in antiquity comparable only to that in the Troad. The 'Erythraean,' for instance, was probably the most famous of all the Sibyls; the ubiquitous Herophile came to Claros in the district of Colophon during her journey; Samos, too, lying off the same coastline, was closely associated with that journey; and one wonders whether the Cumaean Sibyl, who according to one tradition made her journey from Cyme in Euboea, did not in fact come from Cyme farther up the Lydian coast.<sup>11</sup> It is in fact possible that Lydia, and not the Troad, was the main channel of Sibylline prophecy from east to west; and the suggestion accords well with the fact that this region, according to the thinking of modern scholarship, was once occupied by the powerful nation of Arzawa, the enemy of the Hittites, which in the fourteenth century overran part of the Hittite realm from the west;<sup>12</sup> a nation therefore which could well have assimilated and transmitted such Oriental influences as were already established on the Anatolian plateau.

In view of these considerations, a possible answer to our question, why Vergil mentions a Sibyl only at Cumae, becomes at once apparent; partly based, I suggest, upon the tradition recorded by Herodotus that the Etruscans migrated to Umbria from Lydia (1.94). It appears that there may never be una-

nimity among scholars in the matter of Etruscan origins, though the account of Herodotus is now accepted in many quarters as wholly or partly true; and to me at any rate it seems that Wainwright argues convincingly, on archaeological and other grounds, that the story in Herodotus reflects a historical racial movement of a people distressed by famine during or after the Trojan War.<sup>13</sup> But whether we ourselves accept that legend does not really matter because—and this is the important point—Vergil certainly accepted it.<sup>14</sup> He must have believed, therefore, that the Etruscans no less than the Trojans were the conveyors of Sibylline prophecy to Italy; and of the two races, if we remind ourselves of the story of Tarquin and the Sibylline Books and of the contributions made by the Etruscans to the science of augury and allied skills, it seems that the origins of Sibylline prophecy may well have owed more to the Etruscans. I therefore suggest that Vergil, in the light of such or of similar considerations, allows only the Cumaean Sibyl in his narrative because he was unwilling to flatter the Etruscans more than necessary. This idea is moreover consistent with certain other details of the narrative, for instance the portrayal of Mezentius as a villain, and the fact, doubtless welcome to later Romans who viewed with distaste their early domination by Etruscan kings, that the main body of Etruscans gladly submit themselves to the command of Aeneas (10.153). We note, too, that in Vergil there is no connection between the two racial movements, so that the Trojans ignore the Lydian coastline on their journey, and the Etruscans are already in Italy when the Trojans arrive; while the Cumaean Sibyl, described in an ageless and timeless manner, is portrayed as having no connection with either race.

This latter point may indeed give us a clue for another and final, and possibly more satisfying, suggestion. For Vergil may have felt that the central theme of his poem, the association of Fate with the future Roman Empire, would be emphasized by the very fact that there should be only one Sibyl and that she should meet the Trojans first in Cumae. The great future in store for Aeneas and his descendants, being part of the *fatorum arcana* from the beginnings of time,<sup>15</sup> were already part of her prophetic insight; and her revelation of this fact, for people who were in a sense strangers, was part of the emphasis. In this case the idea of one Sibyl,

possibly a 'blend of several known Sibyls,' would be illustrative of Vergil's passion for condensation and integration, an aspect of the poet's art so eloquently discussed by Jackson Knight.<sup>16</sup>

I conclude by reaffirming the interest and elusiveness of this problem. It may be obvious to some that the problem does not exist; but the more I read the evidence the more convinced I am that it does, just as I am convinced that the suggestions put forward here are by no means the last. It is hoped that they may serve as a basis for further study in this field.

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<sup>1</sup> This article is based on a paper read at a meeting of the Classical Association of Canada in June 1962.

<sup>2</sup> W. Warde Fowler, *The religious experience of the Roman people* (London 1911) 258; cf. J. G. Frazer on Pausanias 10.12.1-8.

<sup>3</sup> Vergil, *Aen.* 6.9-12; Strabo 13.1.46-8; Ovid, *Met.* 14.130-53; Pausanias 10.12.2-6; Lactantius, *Inst. div.* 1.6.7; Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.17.27-8; Servius, in *Aen.* 3.445; 6.36; cf. G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*<sup>2</sup> (Munich 1912) 293; Cyril Bailey, *Religion in Virgil* (Oxford 1935) 168.

<sup>4</sup> Pausanias 10.12.1-3; Dion. Hal. 1.55; Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.12.4; Lactantius, *Inst. div.* 1.6.10; cf. Frazer, *Op.cit.* 10.12.1; Cornelia C. Coulter, "The transfiguration of the Sibyl," *CJ* 46 (1950) 65-8.

<sup>5</sup> For these further geographical details see *Aen.* 3.255-7, cf. 3.394-5, 7.122-7; Dion. Hal. 1.55-6; Paus. 10.12.1, 5, 8, 10; Lact. *Inst. div.* 1.6.9-12; *Epit.* 5; Servius, in *Aen.* 3.256; cf. William E. Gwatkin, "Dodona, Odysseus, and Aeneas," *CJ* 57 (1961) 97-102. For the Epirus-Sicily-Italy links see also W. F. Jackson Knight, *Cumaeae gates* (Oxford 1936) 153. For an interesting discussion of the Cumaeae Sibyl see J. H. Waszink, "Vergil and the Sibyl of Cumae," *Mnemosyne* 4 (1948) 42-58.

<sup>6</sup> See references in note 5 above, also Paus. 10.12.9; Lact. 1.6.8; cf. Rzach, *RE* s.v. Sibyllen, 2073-6; also Jackson Knight, *Op.cit.* 30-31, esp. the bibliography listed.

<sup>7</sup> Dion. Hal. 1.55; Tac. *Ann.* 6.12.4; Paus. 10.12.3; cf. Frazer, *Op.cit.* 10.12.1; also Henri Graillot, *La culte de Cybèle* (Paris 1912) 45.

<sup>8</sup> *Aen.* 2.717, 320; 3.12; 7.137, 207-11; 8.679; 12.176-82; Varro, 1.1.5.58; 2.325; 3.148; Arnobius, 3.40; Augustine, *Civ. Dei* 7.28; Macrobius, *Sat.* 3.4.6ff.; Servius, in *Aen.* 1.378; 2.325; 3.119. For a discussion of these legends see especially G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* (Munich 1904) 99-128; cf. Bailey, *Op.cit.* 91.

<sup>9</sup> Dion. Hal. 1.51.1. In this matter see Gwatkin, *Op.cit.*

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Warde Fowler, *Op.cit.* 441-3; Bailey, *Op.cit.* 164ff.

<sup>11</sup> For these details see Dion. Hal. 4.62.4; Strabo 13.1.46-8, 61ff.; 13.3.3, 6; 14.1.34; Tac. *Ann.* 6.12.4; Paus. 10.12.1, 5, 7 and Frazer *ad loc.*; Lact. 16.11, cf. Hesiod, *Works and days* 633-40; Servius, in *Aen.* 3.441; 6.36; Frazer on Ovid, *Fast.* 4.257; Franz Altheim, *A history of Roman religion* (London 1938) 42, 352; Bailey, *Op.cit.* 168.

<sup>12</sup> John Garstang and O. R. Gurney, *The geography of the Hittite empire* (London 1959) 83ff.

<sup>13</sup> G. A. Wainwright, "The Teresh, the Etruscans and Asia Minor," *Anatolian studies* 9 (1959) 197-213; for the view that the Etruscans came from the Danube as well as from Anatolia, cf. Zacharie Mayani, *Les Etrusques commencent à parler* (Paris 1961).

<sup>14</sup> E.g. *Aen.* 2.781; 8.479; 9.10; 10.155 etc. We may note also Vergil's 'Tarcho' or 'Tarchon' (8.506; 10.153); cf. 'Tarhund,' a Hittite weather god and chief deity of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms, according to O. R. Gurney (*The Hittites* [London 1962] 138) identifiable with the Etruscan 'Tarchon,' in turn the basis of the personal name 'Tarquinius.' For Vergil's handling of another aspect of Anatolian influence see J. B. Garstang, "Deos Latio: western Asia Minor and the gods of Aeneas," *Vergilius* 8 (1962) 22-3.

<sup>15</sup> For a fuller discussion of this idea see J. B. Garstang, "The crime of Helen and the concept of *fatum* in the *Aeneid*," *CJ* 57 (1962) 337-45.

<sup>16</sup> W. F. Jackson Knight, *Roman Vergil* (London 1944) 82ff.; *Vergil and Homer* (British Virgil Society, London 1950) 14-19; *Vergil's secret art* (British Virgil Society, London 1961) 7-14; "Poetic sources and integration," *Vergilius* 8 (1962) 1-7; cf. Waszink, *Op.cit.* 58.

A Bilingual Text concerning Etana

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## A Bilingual Text Concerning Etana

By OLIVER R. GURNEY, B.A.

THE present text is a duplicate of Ki. 1904-10-9, 87 (for a copy of which see *AJSL.*, vol. xxxv, p. 138, and for transcription and translation *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, vol. vi, p. 32), as indeed has been already noted by Güterbock (*ZA.*, xlii, p. 9). But the fragment previously published was so small as to be scarcely intelligible, and the present fragment (K. 5119) throws a great deal more light upon the real nature of this text. It is probably, as will be shown, a text concerning Etana, thirteenth king of the first dynasty of Kish and subject of the famous myth in which he ascends to heaven on the back of an eagle in search of the plant of birth<sup>1</sup>; but it is a type of text not hitherto associated with that hero.

The purpose of the text is plainly shown by ll. 16 ff. of the reverse. It belongs to the familiar type in which an incantation exorcizing the devils from a sick man is preceded by a long myth, explaining how such evil first came to mankind.

Of the myths hitherto found associated with this type, the most important have been those of Adapa, Atarḫasis, and the "Descent of Ishtar".<sup>2</sup> The legend of Etana is associated with a ritual on *KAR.* 170, though the nature of the ritual is not clear. Now the myth on the obverse of K. 5119 is in any case something entirely new. It is unfortunate that owing to the smallness of both fragments no very satisfactory sense can be made of the myth. Ll. 7 to 9 of Ki. 1904-10-9, 87 (= ll. 14-16 below), contain an address (?) to a "great spirit, sage, who was born in Kish and who enraged Adad in heaven and for three years caused rain and verdure to fail in the land". This, when taken

<sup>1</sup> For the Accadian poem, see Langdon, *Legend of Etana*. The myth was written originally in Sumerian. Güterbock supposes that the text concerns Adapa, but Adapa was not born in Kish (see below).

<sup>2</sup> See Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, 182, 276, 334. Cf. also "Legend of the Kiškanu," *JRAS.*, 1928, pp. 843-8.

together with ll. 3 and 4 of the present text (" he who ascended to heaven "), points directly to Etana as the subject at least of these two lines. For Etana was king of Kish, ascended to heaven, and, as may be inferred from *The Legend of Etana* (Langdon), pp. 7-8, caused the gods to be angered against mankind.

Can we assume that the whole of this text consisted of a myth concerning Etana? It must be recognized that, though the Sumerian words preserved in l. 3 are precisely the same as those used of Etana in *OECT.*, ii, 10, 16, nevertheless they are not in any way peculiar, and the Accadian translation of them is used verbatim of *Adapa*, in the Assyrian fragment K. 8214 published by A. Strong and edited in Dhorme, *Choix de Textes*, p. 158, l. 14, and Langdon, *Poème Sumérien du Paradis*, 96, 14. Consequently the only lines of the text here edited certainly referring to Etana are ll. 14-16, and these are the only lines fully preserved (i.e. in Ki. 1904-10-9, 87). These lines are, however, so expressed as to be clearly statements of further facts about some person mentioned before; they appear to be *addressed* to that person; and since it is most unusual for Sumerian myths to be concerned with more than one hero, it may be regarded as almost certain that Etana is actually the subject of this myth.

If this is granted, the importance of the text is obvious. The Etana Legend, as has been remarked above, has already been found associated with a ritual; see Langdon, *The Legend of Etana*, p. 53. But that legend is still known only from Accadian tablets, and therefore K. 5119, being bilingual, is the first Sumerian mythological text of which Etana is the subject. This myth is entirely new; for Etana is here woven into the theological doctrines of the Eridu school. L. 18 (which from the context appears to be addressed to the same person as l. 14) describes him as born in the *abzu*, or nether sea, the home of Ea. Ll. 7-8 describe him as the *apkalu* (" sage ") created in the river. In ll. 5 and

21, he is associated with the "Fish-goat" of the sea, though the exact sense of these lines is not clear; see notes thereon. In l. 13 of the reverse he is actually called a "priest of incantations at Eridu", if indeed this line refers to him.

Perhaps the most important fact is the occurrence of the word *apḫallu*. Rev. l. 10 contains an instruction for the fashioning of seven clay figures of these "Wise Ones", and the word is applied not only to Etana himself (?) in ll. 1 and 8, but also to Enmekar, with whom Etana is compared in ll. 10 and 12, and who here has the title of divinity. The use of the figures of the *apḫallê* in incantation rituals will require a separate discussion<sup>1</sup>; but it may be remarked here that the list of the Wise Ones with their home cities in *KAR.*, 298, 5-10, contains no mention of Kish or Erech and would appear to belong to another tradition; though Kullab, the city of the fourth Wise Man (*ûmu damḫu*), *ibid.*, l. 7, was a part of Erech, and is used synonymously with it in the legend of Lugalbanda in which *En-me-ir-kar* appears (*OECT.*, i, 6, 35; 8, 26; 9, 27), and thus the two traditions may not have been entirely distinct. Certainly Etana was not recognized as an *apḫallu* in the canonical list.<sup>2</sup>

In the transcription below the figures in brackets refer to the lines of the duplicate. The diacritical system is that of Professor Langdon, to whom I should like to express my gratitude for the assistance he has given me in the preparation of this paper. I should also like to thank Mr. Gadd, who has kindly collated certain passages for me.

## K. 5119

## Obverse

1. - - - - - išib ab[gál<sup>3</sup> - - - -]
2. - - - - - i-šib-bu [ap-ḫal-lu<sup>3</sup>]
- - - - - the priest of incantations, the [sage - - - -]

<sup>1</sup> See *Liv. A.A.*, 1935, pp. 31 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *JRAS.*, 1926, pp. 689 ff.; especially p. 695 for *KAR.*, 298.

<sup>3</sup> The traces in l. 1 suggest *gal*. But in l. 2 there is barely room for *ap-ḫal-lu*, whereas in l. 1 there is room for at least two more signs after *gal*.



3. [e-ta-na-sipa (?)] lù an-šú ba-an-è <sup>1</sup>  
 4. [e-lu-na ri-'u] šá ana šami-e i-lu-[u]  
     [Etana the shepherd (?)] who ascended to heaven,<sup>1</sup>  
 5. (1) [- - - - - <sup>2</sup> suġu]x<sup>kua</sup> a-ab-ba imin-na-ne-ne  
 6. (2) [- - - - - <sup>3</sup> nam (?)]-ru(?)-tum bu-raġ tam-ti si-bit-  
     ti-šù-nu  
     [- - - - - glor]y (?), the burādu-fish of the sea  
     (of ?) the seven of them,  
 7. (3) [Ug-gal abgal id-da mú]-mú-da <sup>4</sup> giš-ġar an-ki-a  
     si-di-dé  
 8. (4) [úgallu <sup>5</sup> ap-ka-lu] ša ina na-a-ri <sup>6</sup> ib-ba-nu-ú  
 9. [muš-te-ši-ru ú]-šu-rat šami-e ù iri-ši-tim  
     [the "great spirit", the sage, who was] created in  
     the river, director of the plans of heaven and earth,  
 10. (5) [<sup>7</sup> Ug-gal-gim ab-gal 'en-]me-kar 'Inninni šag é-an-  
     na-ge  
 11. [an - ta] - ě - dé.  
 12. (6) [ap-ka-lu <sup>10</sup> Enmekar <sup>8</sup> šá <sup>11a</sup> Iš-tar iš-tu] šami-e ana  
     ki-rib aġa-ak-ki  
 13. [ú - še] - ri - da  
     [like the "great spirit", the sage En]mekar,<sup>8</sup> whom  
     Ishtar caused to descend into the midst of the  
     sanctuary (i.e. Eanna).

<sup>1</sup> Same line in *OECT.*, ii, 10, 16 Etana is an imperative form from the verb è "go up". Cf. the god 'e-ta-na dingir è kur-bal-ge "God Etana, he that goes up to the hostile land", Lutz, *PBS.*, i, 112, 67.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly [suġur-má]š, but burādu, so far as we know, = suġur (a kind of plaice), not suġur-máš. If suġur-máš is right, perhaps Etana is here identified with that monster. But the meaning of the line is obscure. The seven are presumably the *Apkallé* (see rev. l. 10), who are elsewhere described as wearing fish-skins. Are they perhaps the subject of the line?

<sup>3</sup> Uncertain. The traces on the duplicate might be še, zi, mu, or nam; or šub-tum (= the abode of) may be right.

<sup>4</sup> Var. dé.

<sup>5</sup> Written ditto, or perhaps [Ug-gal-lu]u?

<sup>6</sup> Var. id.

<sup>7</sup> Room for one more sign here. First three signs not translated in Accadian.

<sup>8</sup> Second king of Eanna and builder of Erech (*OECT.*, ii, p. 11, iii, 7-9). See discussion above. Güterbock renders "*Apkallu* of Enmekar".

14. (7) [Ug-gal abgál šag Kiš-(ki)-ta] ù-tu-ud-da dImmer  
an-ta  
15. [sur-ġuš-a mu 3-kam-ma im-]šèg ú-šim kur-ta nu-un-  
gál-la



K. 5119. Obverse.

16. (9) [úgallu apkallu šá ina ĩi-rib Ki-ši ib-ba-nu-ú] <sup>ilu</sup>Adad  
ina šami-e ú-šá-zi-zu-ma

<sup>1</sup> Ditto in text.

17. (10) [3 *šanāti* zu-un-na u ur-*kí-tam*] ina *māti* <sup>1</sup> la *ú-šab-šu-ú*  
 ["Great spirit," sage, who] was born [in Kish] (and)  
 who in heaven caused Adad to be enraged, and [for  
 three years] caused rain and verdure not to be in  
 the land.
18. (11) [Ug-gal abzu <sup>2</sup>-šag ù-]tu-ud-da *nàkišib-a-ni*
19. [gab-ri nu-tuk (?) <sup>3</sup>den-ki (?) ab]zu-ta *súr-ġuš-a*  
 ["Great spirit"] who was born [in the Deep <sup>2</sup>], whose  
 seal [has no rival (?)], who enraged [Ea (?)] in the  
 Deep,
20. - - - - - *ág ba-an-gaz*
21. - - - - - *suġur-máš* . . . . <sup>4</sup>-li-lu-ú (?)  
 - - - - - slew (?) - - - - - the fish-goat . . . . .
22. - - - - - *ma-aš-la* - - - - -
23. - - - - - *si-mat* - - - - -  
 - - - - - the insignia (?) - - - - -

## Reverse

2. [- - - - - ù-]tu-ud-da an [- - -]
3. - - - - - *ib-ba-[nu-ú]*  
 - - - - - were (was ?) born - - -
4. - - - - - *šá uznu rapaš-tum* - - - -  
 - - - - - whose vast understanding - - - -
5. - - - - - an-ki-a ŠU - - - - -  
 - - - - - in heaven and earth - - - -
6. - - - - - *up-pát KU* - - - - -  
 - - - - - . . . . .
7. - - - - - *šá ina ú-sal-li* - - - - -  
 - - - - - who in the meadow - - - - -

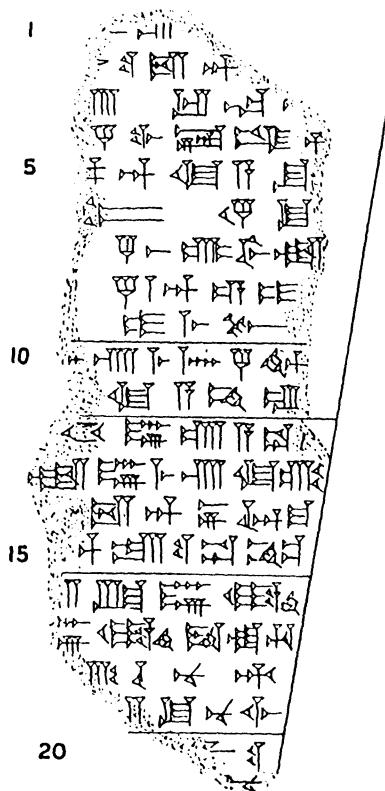
<sup>1</sup> Var. *ma-a-ti*.

<sup>2</sup> Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager*, 45, iii, 7 (now completed by K. 7860) has "Figures of the 7 (*apkalé* ? follows Naruda + 7 *apkalé*), *binút apšf*". See *Liv. A.A.*, 1935, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Restoration conjectured from *KAR.*, 88, frag. 4, 12. Doubtful.

<sup>4</sup> The signs here might be UŠ.KA.

8. - - - - - *šd ana šami-e i-[lu-u]*  
       - - - - - who ascended to heaven,  
 9. - - - - - *i-šib-bu* - - - -  
       - - - - - the priest of incantations - - - - -



K. 5119. Reverse.

10. [7 *šalmê*] *apḫallî ša ṭîti* - - - - -  
       [Seven figures] of the Wise Ones, of clay - - - - -  
 11. - - - - - *-ki-a-am taman-[nu]*.  
       - - - - - thus shalt thou recite.





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A Tablet of Incantations against Slander

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## A TABLET OF INCANTATIONS AGAINST SLANDER

By O. R. GURNEY

AMONG the tablets excavated by Sir Leonard Woolley at Ur there is a text containing incantations and rituals against slander and witchcraft. A hand copy of this tablet has been prepared by the present writer for inclusion in a forthcoming volume of texts from Ur; its publication may, however, be anticipated by the following edition, which is offered as a tribute of respect and esteem to the eminent excavator.

Incantations against witchcraft have been known since the early days of Assyriology from the large compilation known to the Assyrians as *Maqlû* "Burning". These incantations are for the most part addressed to the Fire God; the usual practice was to make figurines of wood or wax representing the sorcerer and then to destroy them by fire, while invoking the assistance of the Fire God. An alternative was to place the figurines in a small boat and launch this on the water, where it would either float away downstream or capsize in a storm, and it is this procedure to which the present tablet is devoted. The interest attaching to this procedure with the boat is shown by the fact that the two incantations from *Maqlû* which refer to it have been quoted *in extenso* by such authorities on Babylonian magic as Morris Jastrow<sup>1</sup> and R. Campbell Thompson;<sup>2</sup> further examples of it will therefore not be unwelcome.

The beginning and end of the text are missing, but, so far as preserved, the tablet is in good condition, and is inscribed in a good, clear, Neo-Babylonian hand. It appears to be a compilation from at least five other tablets. The text, as preserved, begins with an incantation "against persecuting tongues" of which the first half is lost; the ritual belonging to this incantation is given in three different versions. The text then begins afresh in the style of a medical prescription, but the procedure with the clay boat is similar, and this section introduces one of the incantations which have become so well known from the *Maqlû* series. At line 9 of the reverse the text becomes fragmentary, but it is clear that yet another ritual introduced by medical symptoms begins at this point; presumably it would have included a similar procedure involving the construction of a model boat.

The first part of the text contains several interesting details. All variants of the ritual include sealing the aperture of the boat with two types of stone which are frequently used elsewhere for a similar purpose. Not only figures of the sorcerer and sorceress are put into the boat, but also model tongues of clay, representing the malicious tongues of the slanderers. The construction

<sup>1</sup> *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, I, 310.

<sup>2</sup> *Semitic Magic*, 154-5.

of such tongues is known from Hittite texts,<sup>3</sup> where they are waved over the patient and then destroyed; but this is apparently the first time that such a feature has been found in a Babylonian ritual. The incantation with which the text opens is unfortunately mutilated, but it includes an interesting passage apparently addressed to the goddess Nin-girim, in which the wish is expressed that the slanderers should transfer their usual activities from the patient to the goddess, presumably in the belief that the goddess would pre-

1. [ . . . . . ] x [ . . . . . ] x
2. [x (pl.) . . . . . lā im-m]e-du-in-ni
3. [x. . . . . lā] i-rad-da-dan-ni
4. [ . . . . . ina (aban)kunu (aban)ZA.]SUH u (aban)šadānu(nu) bāb-šū-nu ku-nu-uk
5. [ . . . . . -b]a-a a-na mārat (il)Ē-a bēl naqbi
6. [kīam taqabbi . . . . . bēl lemutti-i]a lu-ú bēl lemutti-ki
7. [ . . . . . bēl ik-ke]i-ia lu-ú bēl ik-ki-ki
8. [bēl šir-ri-ia lu-ú bēl ši]r-ri-ki bēl ridi-ia lu-ú bēl ridi-ki
9. [ . . . . . e]p-šá-ta-ki lil-te-ú ZI-ki lit-bu-ú a-šab-ki lu-ši-\*bu<sup>4</sup>

10. [ul-tu KI.T]A.MEŠ a-na AN.TA.MEŠ la il-la-a
11. [ul-tu qid-d]a-tum a-na ma-ḫir-ti la il-la-ku
12. [šil-lat-su-nu m]i-qit pi-i-šū-nu ul-tu lib-bi-šū-nu ù ḫa-še-e-šū-nu
13. [ana šap-ti-š]ú-nu a-a i-la-a TU<sub>6</sub>. ÉN

- 
14. [i n i m - i n i m - m a ] a-na lišānāti(MEŠ) rad-da-[di]
- 

15. [šiptu an-ni-tu x-šū] a-na muḫ-ḫi-šū-nu tamannu(nu) a-na makurri ṭīṭi ta-kam-mis
  16. [i-na (aban)kunu]k (aban)ZA.SUH ù (aban)šadānu(nu) bāb-šū-nu ta-kan-nak a-na nāri tanaddi(di)
- 

17. [kikiṭṭaš]u VII lišānāti(MEŠ) šá ṭīṭi teppuṣ(uš) a-na makurri šá ṭīṭi lišānāti(ME) ta-kam-mis IM makurra tar-rim
18. [i-na] (aban)kunu (aban)ZA.SUH ù (aban)šadānu(nu) VII lišānāti(MEŠ) tu-bar-ram bāb makurri ki-i lišānāti(ME)
19. [tu]-bar-ram šiptu an-ni-tu VII-šū tamannu(nu)-ma ana nāri tanaddi(di) lu-ú ana burti šá ēnā(II)-šū šá ereb šamši

<sup>3</sup> A. Goetze, *The Hittite Ritual of Tunnawi* (1938), 100, and in Pritchard, *A.N.E.T.*, 350.

<sup>4</sup> Text: -i l



vail over them by her superior magical powers. The incantation concludes with the wish that the adversaries shall depart down the river and never return upstream—a characteristic of river traffic on the swiftly flowing Euphrates and Tigris, observed by Herodotus.<sup>5</sup>

The third version of the ritual is taken from a tablet in which the incantation used (only cited by its first line) was one already known from the Sumerian series “udug-ḫul-a-meš” and “azág-gig-ga-meš”.

- 
1. . . . .
  2. [The . . . . . s] shall [*not infli*]ct [ . . . . .] on me.
  3. [The . . . . .] shall [*not*] persecute me.
  4. [ . . . . . With seals of] vitriol-stained stone and haematite seal their openings,
  5. [ . . . . .]. to the daughter of Ea, lord of the deep,
  6. [*say as follows*: . . . . .] May my [evildoer] be thy evildoer;
  7. [may my . . . . be thy . . . .] may my detractor be thy detractor;
  8. [may my adversary be] thy adversary; may my persecutor be thy persecutor;
  9. [ . . . . .] may they spy on thy actions; at thy rising may they rise,  
at thy sitting down may they sit down.
  10. [From be]low they shall not come up;
  11. [from down]stream they shall not come upstream.
  12. [*Their insolence*,] their calumny from their heart and their lungs
  13. shall not ascend [*to*] their [*lips*]. Spell. Incantation.
- 
14. [Incantation] against persecuting tongues.
- 
15. [This incantation] you recite [x times] over them, put them into the clay boat,
  16. seal their openings [with a seal] of vitriol-stained stone and haematite, and throw them into the river.
- 
17. [Ritual:] you make seven tongues of clay, you put the tongues into the clay boat, you cover the boat with clay,
  18. [With] seals of vitriol-stained stone and haematite you seal the seven tongues, the opening of the boat like the tongues
  19. [you] seal, you recite this incantation seven times, and throw (them) into the river, or into a well the springs of which are towards the sunset,

<sup>5</sup> Hdt. I, 194.

20. *tanaddi(di)-ma a-na arki-ka lā tāmar(IGI.BAR)*

- 
21. *šá-niš ša pi-i tup-pi šá-ni-e kikiṭṭašu ṭiṭ kibir nāri ki-lal-li-e teleqqi(qī) (iṣ)makurra*  
 22. *teppuṣ(uṣ) VII u VII lišānāti(MEŠ) šá ṭiṭi teppuṣ(uṣ) šalam kaš-šá-pi u kaš-šap-tu, šá ṭiṭi teppuṣ(uṣ) lišānāti(MEŠ)*  
 23. *u šalmāni(MEŠ) ana (iṣ)makurri tašakkan(an) VII u VII akalī(HI.A) IM (iṣ)ma-kurra tar-ra-am i-na (aban)kunuk*  
 24. *(aban)ZA.SUḪ ù (aban)šadānu(nu) bāb (iṣ)makurri ta-kan-nak-ma qaran-šú ana muḫ-ḫi LAL-ma*  
 25. *šiptu VII-šú u VII-šú ana muḫ-ḫi tamannu(nu) teleqqi(qī)-ma ta- x x arki-šú*  
 26. *šiptu u dug.ḫul edin.na.zu.šè a-di bāb ka-mi-i tamannu(nu)-ma [ṣisur]rá(a) bāba te-šir*  
 27. *ne-pi-šam an-na-a ina UD XXVII.KAM šá (arab)abi in-ni-p[u-uṣ-ma] i-šal-lim*
- 

28. *šumma amēlu SA.GAL-šú i-ta-dar a-na da-ba-bi libba-šú là iššú(šú) amēlu š[uātu K]A.ME*  
 29. *šaman la-ta-ki tapaššaš ina mūši ṭiṭa ina nāri ta-ka-ri-iṣ ina pān (iṣ)irši-šú ma-kur-ra š[á ṭiṭ]i šu-a-tu, teppuṣ(uṣ)*

Rev.

1. *niknakka burāša tašakkan(an) {mi-}mi-iḫ-ḫa tanaqqi amēla tu-šak-ma-as-ma kam taqabbi(DUG,GA)*  
 2. *šiptu šá i-pu-ša-an-ni uṣ-te-piṣ-an-ni ina mi-il nāri iṭpuṣ-an-[ni]*  
 3. *ina mi-ṭi nāri iṭpuṣ-an-ni a-na e-piṣ-ti ipši(ši)-ma*  
 4. *a-na sa-ḫir-ti su-uh-ri-{šum-}mi iq-bu-ú*  
 5. *an-ni-tum ma-<sup>1</sup>kur<sup>1</sup>-ra-šá ki-ma an-ni-tum ibbalakkitu(tu,)*  
 6. *kiš-pu-šú-nu lib-bal-ki-tu-šú-nu-ti-ma ana [mu]ḫ-ḫi-šú-nu u l[a]-ni-šú-nu lil-li-ku te šiptu*
- 
7. *šipta an-ni-ta III-šú tamannu(nu)-ma ma-kur-ra ta-saḫ-ḫap-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup> ina x -šú i x ta x [x]-ma*  
 8. *a-na nāri tanaddi(di) ṣikurrudū a-na amēli ù bīti-[šú] là iteḫḫi*
- 

9. *[šumma amēlu k]a-la zumri-šú ikkal-šú-ma x li 'i ù ga-še-e rēš libbi-šú i-ḫa-maṭ-su*

(Rest fragmentary)

20. and you do not look behind you.

- 
21. Alternatively, according to another tablet, (this is) the ritual: you take clay from both banks of the river, and  
 22. make a boat, you make seven and again seven clay tongues, (and) you make clay figures of the sorcerer and sorceress; the tongues  
 23. and the figures you put into the boat, seven and again seven loaves (you also put in), you cover the boat with clay,  
 24. seal the opening of the boat with seals of vitriol-stained stone and haematite, attach its prow on top, and  
 25. recite the incantation seven and again seven times over it, you take (it) and . . . . . After it  
 26. you recite the incantation "Demon, to your desert" as far as the outer gate, you draw a circle of flour round the gate.  
 27. This ritual will be performed on the 27th day of the month Abu and he will get well.
- 

28. If a man's . . . . is agitated (and) his heart does not move him to speak, that man's mouth  
 29. you anoint with *special* oil, at night you pinch off clay by the river (and) in front of his bed you make a boat from that clay,

Rev.

1. set up an incense bowl with cypress (perfume), pour a libation of *mihbu*-beer, make the man kneel down, and say as follows:  
 2. incantation: "She who has bewitched me, has caused me to be bewitched, has bewitched me when the river is high,  
 3. has bewitched me when the river is low, has said to the witch 'Bewitch!'  
 4. and to the enchantress 'Enchant!'  
 5. this is her boat; just as this (boat) overturns  
 6. so may their sorceries turn round and recoil upon their heads and their persons." Spell. Incantation.
- 

7. This incantation you recite three times, cover(?) the boat and . . . . .  
 8. and throw it in the river. (Then) "throat-cutting" will not approach that man and his house.
- 

9. [If a man's wh]ole body pains him and . . . . . his epigastrium burns him

(Rest fragmentary)

## Notes

Obv. 2-3. Since *i-rad-da-dan-ni* is present/future, the same tense should probably be restored in the previous line, and the sense seems to require a negative. In l.2 perhaps [*muršū*] "sickness" may be supplied.

Obv. 4. On these types of stone, which are commonly used for sealing apertures of various kinds, see R. C. Thompson, *D.A.C.G.*, 82, 93.

Obv. 5. The daughter of Ea is presumably Nin-girim (i.e. Nin-A.ḪA.KUD.DU); cf. *CT. XIII* 38, 5-6 (King, *Seven Tablets of Creation* I, pp. 136-9): "Nin-girim, the daughter of Ea, will purify you with a pure incense-bowl, will cleanse you with cleansing fire." On the reading of the name see Goetze, *J.A.O.S.* LXV, 234, and *J.C.S.* IX, 17.

Obv. 9. The emendation of *lu-ši-i* to *lu-ši-bu* is supported by the occurrence of a similar error in Gurney-Finkelstein, *The Sultantepe Tablets*, no. 108, l. 104; the sign *bu*, when written with the oblique strokes turned horizontally, could easily be mistaken for *i*. The construction may then be compared with that cited by von Soden, *G.A.G.* §150a, *zenī-ša izenni salāmi-ša isallim*.

Obv. 12. The sign in the form of *mal*, preceded by the ends of a pair of horizontals, can be read in a variety of ways, but no other reading yields a known phrase with the following *pi-i-šu-nu*. The phrase *miqit pi*, despite some obscurity, is unquestionably parallel to *šillatu* in the Assyrian Laws §2 (cf. Landsberger, *M.A.O.G.* IV, 319 n. 3); Meek's translation "loose talk" (in *A.N.E.T.* 180) renders satisfactorily the casual nature of the utterance implied in the word *miqtu* "falling". The difficulties felt by F. R. Kraus in *Orientalia* 1947, 204, do not seem to invalidate this interpretation.

Obv. 14. Cf. *K.A.R.* 171, 1: *šumma amēlu bēl dabābi i-ra-da-da-šu*.

Obv. 17. Cf. line 23.

Obv. 23. Since IM (*iš*)*makurru tar-ra-am* seems here, as in 1.17, to form a complete sentence, the 14 loaves are left without a verb. Perhaps a ditto sign has been omitted by the scribe. There is in fact a trace of a vertical partly obliterated by the following IM.

Obv. 24. *qaran-šu*: the high projecting stem and stern-post, called "horns," were characteristic of the *makurru* barge (Salonen, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien*, 12 ff.). In an actual ship these would be part of the construction of the vessel, but perhaps in making a clay model they might be attached after the boat itself had been completed. The sign LAL is probably to be read *tarakkas*.

Obv. 25. *arki-šu* "after him/it" is commonly used in the sense "after his/its departure"; the preceding verb, which is illegible, must therefore have indicated the action by which the boat was finally dispatched or destroyed.

Obv. 26. The incantation here cited occurs in both the series *u d u g - ḫ u l - a - m e š* and *a z á g - g i g - g a - m e š*, *C.T.* XVII 8, 12-22, *C.T.* XVI 26 iii 46-iv 6, and *C.T.* XVII 3, 3-6 (the last two passages fragmentary).

Obv. 28. SA.GAL is not usually a part of the body, but a disease; see *C.T.* XXIII 1 ff., and Ebeling, *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, XIII (1921), 133. Is the final *-šu* perhaps not the possessive pronoun, but the end of the Akkadian reading of the ideogram? Unfortunately the verb *i-ta-dar* does not give any clear indication of the meaning.

The broken signs at the end of the line appear to be NA.BI.KA.ME, which would normally be understood as "that man—teeth"; however, the sense demands "mouth" or "lips" rather than "teeth," and it is assumed that KA-*šu* was intended.

Obv. 29. *šaman latāki* “oil of testing,” whatever that may mean. Since the phrase is not here preceded by *ana*, the interpretation given by von Soden, *Orientalia* XX 163, must be abandoned.

Rev. 2-6. Practically identical with *Maqlû* III 118-126.

Rev. 5-6. The root *blkt* has two distinct meanings: (1) to climb over, (2) to overturn, invert (so Labat, *Manuel* 299). The first has long been recognised; the second was first established by J. Nougayrol in *R.A.* XL (1945-6), 64-5, and accounts for several passages in *Maqlû*, such as this, which had previously been obscure (e.g. iii 72-3, iv 7, and vii 16).

Rev. 7. On the primary meaning of *saḫāpu* “to cover” see M. Streck in *Babyloniaca* II, 216 n. 1. In this passage there is a clear parallelism with the verb *arāmu* in obv. 17 and 23.

The Tale of the Poor Man of Nippur and Its Folktale Parallels

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## THE TALE OF THE POOR MAN OF NIPPUR AND ITS FOLKTALE PARALLELS

By O. R. GURNEY

Three years after taking office as Director of our Institute Seton Lloyd was collaborating with the late Nuri Gökce, Director of the Archaeological Museum at Ankara, in the excavation of sites in the plain of Harran. One week's work at Sultantepe—now generally accepted as the site of an Assyrian city named Huzirina<sup>1</sup>—proved memorable for the discovery of a small library of cuneiform tablets and especially of one particular tablet which introduced to Assyriology an entirely new genre: the Tale of the Poor Man of Nippur. It is fifteen years since this entertaining text was first translated in the volume in honour of the Institute's founder and first Director.<sup>2</sup> In the intervening years significant contributions have been made, especially by V. Julow of Debrecen, Hungary, and J. Faragó of Cluj, Rumania, to the study of the tale in its comparative aspects. Some of these publications may not be easily accessible, and as the authors have had the kindness to send offprints to the present writer, it may be of interest, not least to the excavator of the tablet, to show in greater detail, in a volume in his honour, how the tale compares with similar tales from various times and places.<sup>3</sup>

The tale, in brief, runs as follows. A poor man takes a goat as a present to the Mayor. He is misunderstood: the present is thought to be a bribe. Instead of being invited to share in the feast he is given a derisory meal and turned out of doors. He tells the porter to inform the Mayor that he will take threefold vengeance. First he borrows a chariot from the King, for which he contracts to pay one mina of gold, and drives to Nippur "looking like a lord". On the way he catches two birds and puts them in a box. He is well received by the Mayor. He tells the Mayor there is gold in the box. The Mayor falls asleep, whereupon the man opens the box and the birds fly off.<sup>4</sup> When the Mayor wakes up he finds the box empty. The man accuses him of negligence and *beats him*. The Mayor has to refund the two minas alleged to have been in the box. He is in a bad way after the beating.

The man now disguises himself as a doctor and introduces himself to the Mayor. He says he can only cure him in a dark private room. When alone with the Mayor he gives him a *second beating*. Thereafter the Mayor is constantly protected by attendants. The man hires another man to go and shout at the Mayor's gate that he is the man with the goat. The attendants run out and chase

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<sup>1</sup>References to Huzirina in Sultantepe tablets: 51/36: 27 (AS VII, 139); STT 44 obv 18 (ap. J. N. Postgate, *Neo-Assyrian Grants and Decrees*, Rome 1969, p. 78), 64 rev. 15, 71 rev. 70, 406–407 obv. 1, rev. 13, i.e. 2. Identification of site considered AS II, 31, and Finkelstein, AS VII, 137 with note 1 (proposing combination with *alHaziri* of the Old Bab. itinerary, JCS VII 51 ff. iii 8 ff.); accepted by W. Hallo JCS XVIII, 82, K–H. Deller *Or.* 34, 457, R. Frankena *BiOr.* XXV, 205, E. Reiner *JNES* 26, 198, though Deller, Frankena and Reiner are less certain than Hallo on identity with the Huzirina mentioned in the Annals of Tukulti-Ninurta II.

<sup>2</sup>AS VI, 145 ff.

<sup>3</sup>I am greatly indebted to C. S. Mundy for many just and helpful criticisms and stimulating suggestions. He is, however, in no way responsible for the selection of tales for comparison or for the opinions expressed.

<sup>4</sup>Lines 86 and 97 are convincingly restored by E. Reiner, *JNES* 26, 1967, p. 183 n. 7. Dr. J. Faragó (see below, note 20) as a folklorist independently saw the sense of these lines, which eluded me in the *editio princeps*.

this man. The Poor Man hides under a bridge, and when the Mayor passes, springs out and gives him his *third beating*. The Mayor returns limping to the city. The Poor Man leaves for the country.

In the first publication I summarized for comparison the "History of the First Larrikin" from the *Arabian Nights*; and in the following volume<sup>5</sup> I noted that in the standard classification of folk-tales by Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson (henceforward *AaTh*)<sup>6</sup> our tale belongs to type 1538. This consists essentially of four episodes: an initial swindle perpetrated by a trickster on a simpleton, followed by a series of pranks—usually three—in which the hero avenges himself by giving his enemy a beating. By considering each of these episodes individually it is perhaps possible to learn something of the history and development of this tale-type.

From the initial swindle Stith Thompson gave this type the title "The Poor Man cheated in selling oxen". The Poor Man of Nippur is not, of course, selling oxen; he has a goat, which he is seeking to turn to his advantage, not by selling it, but by offering it to the local Mayor in the hope of sharing in a feast, instead of which he gets only a bone and a sinew. I have not found any close parallels to this variant. There is a tale of Nasreddin Hoca about an animal killed for a feast,<sup>7</sup> but it is otherwise so different from our tale in its motivation that it cannot be regarded as a real parallel.

All other tales of the type, however, follow approximately the pattern illustrated by the Tale of the First Larrikin: a simple person is taking his animal (or bird) to or from the market and encounters either a gang of tricksters or a dishonest dignitary, who induce him by various means to part with it cheaply, or even for nothing (hence Stith Thompson's title). In many cases, especially where the creature is a bird, the swindler simply pretends to buy it and then refuses payment (synopsis, p. 152, motif no. 4). But a number of modern versions have the special trick found in the History of the First Larrikin: the bandits persuade the youth or peasant to abandon his animal by making him believe it is some other animal (motif no. 5). Now this exists as a separate tale, *AaTh* 1551, first found in the Sanskrit *Panchatantra*, which dates from before the sixth century A.D.<sup>8</sup> Here the dupe is a Brahman carrying a goat to sacrifice; after being told successively that it is a dog, a dead calf and a donkey (all unclean animals) he takes fright and abandons it to his tormentors. In Europe it first appears as an apologue in the sermons of Jacques de Vitry, who was Bishop of Acre from 1216 to 1227 and died at Rome c. 1240.<sup>9</sup> It was suggested by W. A. Clouston<sup>10</sup> that de Vitry might have brought the tale with him from the East, but this is probably an oversimplification for it is known that Oriental tales were already circulating in

<sup>5</sup> *AS* VII, 136.

<sup>6</sup> Second revision, *FF Comm.* No. 184 (1961).

<sup>7</sup> H. D. Barnham, *Tales of Nasr-ed-din Khoja* (1923), pp. 174–5.

<sup>8</sup> Book III, no. 5; in A. W. Ryder, *Panchatantra* (Chicago, 1956), p. 324; shorter version in F. Edgerton, *The Panchatantra* (London, 1965), pp. 119–120.

<sup>9</sup> T. F. Crane, *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry* (Publications of the Folk-lore Society No. XXVI, 1890), no. XX, pp. 6 and 141–2.

<sup>10</sup> W. A. Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions* (London, 1887), II, pp. 27 ff. ("The sharpeners and the simpleton").



Europe. It turns up in England in the sixteenth century collection of anecdotes "The Sack-Full of News", where the simpleton is taking hogs to market and the tricksters pretend they are sheep. In the contemporary "Jests of Scogin" the trickster is John Scogin (or Scogan) who became jester to the king c. 1480 and is said to have been a Master of Arts of Oriel College, Oxford:<sup>11</sup>

Scogin and his chamber-fellow lacked money, and Scogin said "If thou wilt be ruled after me, we will goe to Tame market, where we shall overtake, going or comming, some that drive sheepe; now doe as I shall tell thee and we will get some money." And as they went to Tame they did see a man drive sheepe. Then said Scogin to his fellow "Goe thou before and make bargain with him that the sheepe bee no sheepe, but hogs; and when that thou hast made a full bargain, aske by whom the matter shall be tried; and say thou, by him that shall next overtake us." The scholler did overtake him that drove the sheepe and said "Well overtaken, my friend; from whence hast thou brought these faire hogs?" "Hogs!" quoth the fellow, "they be sheepe." Said the scholler "You begin to jest." "Nay, sir" said the fellow, "I speake in good earnest." "Art thou in earnest?" said the scholler "thou wilt lay no wager with me to the contrary!" "Yes, by the bone of a pudding, I will lay all the money in my purse." "How much is that?" said the scholler. The fellow said "I have two shillings." "Two shillings!" said the scholler "That is nothing. Wilt thou lay half thy hogs and two shillings, and I will lay as much against it? Strike hands, and he that loseth shall pay." "Be it," said the fellow. "Now" said the scholler "by whom shall we be tryed?" The fellow said "We shall be tryed in the town of Tame." "Nay" said the scholler, "Tame is out of my way, let us bee tryed by him that shall next overtake us." "Be it," said the fellow. By and by, Scogin did overtake them, saying "Well overtaken, good fellows." "Welcome, master" said the scholler and the fellow. "Master" said the fellow, "here is a scholler of Oxford hath made a bargain with me of two shillings and the price of half of my sheep that they bee hogs that I doe drive before me." Scogin did set up a laughing, saying . . . "Alacke, good fellowe, thou hast lost thy bargain, for they be faire hogs." Then said the scholler "Give me my money and divide these hogs, for I must have halfe of them." "Alacke" said the fellow "I bought these for sheep, but not for hogs; I am undone." "Nay" said Scogin, "I will be indifferent betweene you both; let the scholler have the two shillings and take thou the hogs away with thee." The fellow said "Blessed be the time that ever you were borne! Hold, scholler, there is two shillings." The fellow was glad he lost not his hogs, which were sheepe.

The same tale, in Alsatian dialect, is included in another collection of about the same period, "Schimpf und Ernst", by the Franciscan monk Johannes Pauli (bibliography no. 22). Combined with revenges, as in the Arabian Nights, it is found in modern versions from Rome, Calabria, Tuscany, Provence, Limousin and Catalonia (nos. 10, 11, 14, 16, 18).

A bullying dignitary, however, comparable to the Mayor in the Assyrian tale, still appears as enemy in several versions: a feudal landlord in the Hungarian poem Lúdas Matyi, a bribed *Kadi* in a story from Georgia, a boyar in one from Moldavia, a gentleman in one from Rumania, a vizier, a bath-master or a merchant in tales from Turkey.<sup>12</sup> In Italy and parts of France the tricksters may be monks or hermits (see synopsis). No doubt the variation reflects the social conditions where the tale is told. As pointed out by A. L. Oppenheim, it is noteworthy that in our tale the tyrant is a *local* official, while the king appears as a benefactor and is treated with respect.<sup>13</sup> In the mediaeval French "novel" *Trubert* (no. 17) the first

<sup>11</sup> "Sack-full of News" and "Jests of Scogin", nos. 20 and 21 of the bibliography. On Scogin cf. A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford* (1959), III, p. 1656.

<sup>12</sup> For Lúdas Matyi and the East European variants see bibliography no. 5, article by V. Julow; Turkish dignitaries *ap.* Eberhard and Boratav, loc. cit. *ibid.* no. 4 (variants to Keloglan).

<sup>13</sup> A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Chicago, 1964), p. 275.

## SYNOPSIS OF TALES

<i>Motifs</i>							
	1 PMN	2 ArN	Turkey 3 Hor 4 Kel		E. Europe 5 Hun 6 Rum		7 Mol
1. H is boy/poor man/wife/ discharged soldier	pm	b	b	b	b	pm/w	pm/w
2. V is dignitary/robber/monk	d	r	r	r	d	d	d
3. H is cheated out of feast	+		+		+	+	+
4. Tricked out of price of animal		+		+			
5. Fooled over identity of animal							
6. Game (dead animal) stolen							
7. Is struck by V			+		+	+	+
8. Is beaten/scolded by mother							
9. Retrieves game and eats it				R1			
10. Collects goods from shops			R1				
11. Disguise as royal messenger	R1				R1		
12. Disguise as carpenter						R1	
13. Disguise as windmill-builder		R1		R2			
14. Disguise as girl/woman		+	R2				
15. Disguise as slave			+				
16. Hanging trick							
17. Disguise as doctor	R2		R3	R3	R2	R2	R2
18. Disguise as old woman					+	+	
19. Attendants sent for herbs		R2					
20. Disguise as sick man		+	+	+			
21. Bath-house			+	+			
22. Steals clothes							
23. Disguise as priest	R3	R3			R3	R3	R3
24. Decoy	R1-3	R1-3	R2	R1-3	R1-3	R1-3	R1-3
25. V is beaten							
26. Decoy is beaten/executed			R3				
27. V is killed							
28. H feigns death, seal trick, V and associates executed							
29. Mock hanging trick		R4					
30. V feigns death, corpse revived							
31. V robbed on way to hospital, left in ditch			+				
32. V or associates go abroad	+	+					
33. H goes abroad							

## Abbreviations:

H: Hero

PMN: Poor Man of Nippur

R: Revenge

V: Villain

ArN: Arabian Nights

T: Trick

Tales numbered according to bibliography.

## EXAMINED OF TYPE 1538

	8 Cre	9 Sic	10 Cal	Italy		13 Lor	France		16 Lim	17 Tru	18 Cat	<i>Motifs</i>
				11 Tus	12 Rom		14 Prov	15 Poi				
	b r  +  +	b r  +  +	b m  +  +	b m  +  +	pm m  +  +	b m  +  +	b m  +  +	ds r  +	b r  ?	b d	b r  +  +	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.
	R1	R1										9. 10.
	R2 R2 +	R2  +	R1	R1?	R1	R1	R1?	R1	?	T1  T4	R1	11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.
	R3  +	R3  +	R2	R2	R2  +	R2  +	R2?	R2  +	?	T2	R2  +	17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22.
	R2-3	R2-3	R3 R1-2 R3	R1-2	R1-2	R3 R1-3	R1-2?	R1-2	?	T3 T1-2 T3	R3? R1-3	23. 24. 25. 26. 27.
	R4	R4		R3		(R4)	R3	R3				28. 29. 30.  31. 32. 33.

episode is altered in a way which changes the whole character of the tale: Trubert uses his goat as a means of gaining the favours of the duchess and gets the duke to pay a double price for it as well; *the duke* swears vengeance, but in fact is never able to take it. The tale thus becomes a mere series of pranks without motivation, the emphasis being on amorous achievements. Most probably, however, it derives ultimately from a tale of our type, as recognized by its editor.

In order to take his revenge the hero has to obtain access to his enemy in private. The doctor's disguise is an obvious possibility and is used in most versions for the second or third revenge after the enemy has received his first injuries (in Poitou—tale no. 15—the healer is an "old woman"). In order to draw off the enemy's friends and attendants they may be sent by the doctor to look for herbs; this occurs in the Hungarian Lúdas Matyi and in the stories from Rome and Lorraine. The Turkish tale of "Brother Cock", Horoz Kardeş (no. 3) has a version adapted to local conditions:

As morning was approaching, the boy dressed himself early as a doctor and went for a walk in the market place. By and by some of the robbers came to the market place to look for a doctor, . . . met the boy and begged him earnestly "Help us! We will give you 15,000 piastres if you will cure our sick friend." "Agreed" said the boy, "but now take him at once to the bath-house." So they promptly went and brought him there. The doctor ordered them all to remove their clothes and enter. He also went in and assembled them all in a room and instructed them to wait one hour, after which they might go to the sick man and would find him cured. They gave their consent to this and proceeded into one of the bath rooms, where they passed the time. The false doctor then took a razor into his hand and went alone into the room of the sick man. Covering the door with a towel, he enlarged the man's throat [sic!] so that he should quickly expire. After a certain time had elapsed and the robber was dead, the boy wrote on the wall "This deed your Brother Cock has done. Look out for what more he will do!" Then he went out and told the bath manager to give him the others' clothes for fumigating. The bath manager had them fetched and handed them to a porter to take to the doctor's house. The boy then wrote on the wall "The one who has stolen your clothes is again Brother Cock. Beware what he still has in store for you!"

The revenge in the bath-house is also found in the tales of Keloğlan (no. 4) and in the Cretan tale of Choromangiris (no. 8) as well as in the Tale of the First Larrikin. The latter, however, has a curious distortion of this episode, the boy smearing himself with blood and posing as an injured man instead of a doctor.

The Poor Man of Nippur as "doctor" merely demands a private place; but both here and in the First Larrikin the friends and attendants are drawn away in the *third* revenge by the device of hiring another man to shout out that he is the hero, whereupon all the attendants run and chase him. This decoy motif, as Dr. Julow points out,<sup>14</sup> is widespread in eastern Europe as the third revenge and may derive there from our Assyrian tale through the mediation of the story from the Arabian Nights. Two versions, the Moldavian and the Ukrainian, even reveal themselves as *direct* descendants of the Assyrian tale by the detail that the hero in this episode hides *under a bridge* while the attendants are being diverted. In western Europe this motif apparently survives in Catalonia, where according to the summary here used the hero distracts the attendants "by a stratagem" (tale no. 18); in the Calabrian tale (no. 10) only a distorted vestige of it remains, where the youth induces a labourer to run away in the belief that the monks are pursuing him and

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<sup>14</sup>Op. cit. (bibliography no. 5).

they catch and beat the labourer instead of the youth beating the Prior. In *Trubert* the hero exchanges horse and clothes with his enemy's nephew, who is then mistaken for Trubert and hanged.

The first revenge in the Poor Man of Nippur is unparalleled in this type of tale. Most commonly, as in the First Larrikin, the hero disguises himself as a girl or slave and, where the villain is a miscreant, traps him while he is demonstrating the use of his rope, hook, or gallows for torturing victims. This is found in the Turkish, Cretan, Georgian, Sicilian and Roman tales (see synopsis). In the Calabrian tale he gains admittance disguised as a woman, but the motif of the hook or gallows is absent. In the Turkish, Cretan and Sicilian tales this is the *second* revenge, being preceded by an additional prank in which the hero poses as his enemies' servant or companion and obtains various goods which they have ordered from shops. In Lúdas Matyi, in one Russian version, and in *Trubert* the hero poses as a carpenter, in the Rumanian tale as a master of windmill building, and so goes with his enemy to the forest to fetch timber, where he ties him to a tree and beats him there. In the tale of Keloĝlan he retrieves the game stolen by the robbers and eats it.

The Assyrian tale is completely different from all these: Gimil-Ninurta plays the role of a royal messenger carrying a treasure chest. For parallels to this motif we have to look outside type 1538. It occurs in a tale from Iceland (no. 23):

A clever, industrious peasant boy named Sigurdur was envied by two princes, his former playmates, for his success. To do him a great injury they burned down his smithy. Sigurdur now took two sacks, filled them with the ashes, and went out with them. In the evening he came to a farm in which a man and wife had the duty of guarding the king's treasures. Sigurdur said he was the king's messenger and was carrying precious valuables in his two sacks, but it was forbidden for anyone to look into them, so he asked the couple to guard them carefully for him for the night. But the wife of the custodian could not restrain her curiosity. When she opened the sacks she saw nothing but ashes, which were blown away by the wind in all directions. She took fright and told her husband, and in order to cover up the deed they filled the sacks with gold and precious stones, with which Sigurdur to his delight walked off the following day. He told the two foolish princes, in answer to their envious questions, that he had got these treasures for the ashes of his smithy. So they too burned down their smithies, but got only ridicule for the ashes when they offered them for sale.

This tale is actually an example of *AaTh* Type 1535 "The Rich and the Poor Peasant", in which the theme is not physical retribution but easy profit. The trick of the "receptacle falsely said to contain valuables"<sup>15</sup> also figures in several other examples of the same type from Germany (no. 24), one of which has an episode closely resembling our tale:

A poor tailor was once walking in winter time across the fields to visit his brother. . . . When he arrived at his brother's house he first looked in at the window to see if they were at home. There he saw a fat priest sitting with his sister-in-law at table. . . . At that moment there was a knock on the door and the husband was about to enter. He then saw how the woman quickly shut the priest into a chest, put the joint in the oven and pushed the wine under the bed-clothes. (There follows a trick by which the tailor persuades his brother to give him the chest, which he wheels away on a barrow, and wins 50 thaler from the priest for letting him out.)

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<sup>15</sup> Motif K.443.3.1 in Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature* (Copenhagen, 1958), citing only Bolte-Polivka, op. cit., II, 1 ff. (our no. 24). On pp. 10 ff. these authors cite an example of this motif from Russia which is not accessible to me.

The people wondered where he got all his money from, but he said "I'll tell you. The price of skins is so high, I killed my old cow and got so much money from the skin." The villagers wanted to make a similar profit, went and cut the throats of all their cows and sheep and carried the skins into the town, but for this they got next to nothing because so many of them were offered for sale at the same time.

So the peasants were angry and threw a lot of muck and rubbish in front of the tailor's door. He, however, put it all into his chest, went with it into the town, to a guest-house, and asked the host if he would be so kind as to look after the chest for a while, as it contained valuables and was not safe with him. The host said "With pleasure" and took the chest. Later the tailor returned and asked for it back and opened it to see if everything was still there. When he found it full of muck he fell into a rage, scolded the host and threatened to prosecute him, so that the host, who feared the publicity and the loss of his good name, gladly gave him a hundred thalers.

In these examples, then, the victim is asked to guard the box or sack and when the fraud is discovered, has to make good the value of the alleged contents on pain of exposure as a thief. The first revenge in the Assyrian tale is an episode of this type, in so far as the Mayor has to refund the two minas of gold which are supposed to have been lost from the box. The beating administered is an extra dictated by the pattern of the tale and is in no need of justification, as shown by the other revenges.

One detail, which seemed obscure when first translated, has now been elucidated. Gimil-Ninurta caught two birds and put them into his box, presumably to weight it; when he opened it, after the Mayor had fallen asleep, the birds "flew away to heaven."<sup>15a</sup> This is a motif normally found associated with two other tale-types, *AaTh* no. 875 "The clever peasant girl", to which J. de Vries devoted a monograph in 1928,<sup>16</sup> and no. 1416 "The mouse in the silver jug". In no. 875 a clever solver of puzzles, usually a young girl, is told to bring a present and at the same time not to bring one; she brings a bird enclosed between two plates or sieves and when the cover is lifted the bird flies off.<sup>17</sup> In no. 1416 a receptacle containing a bird, a mouse or a wasp is placed before the victim and he (or she) is forbidden to touch it;<sup>18</sup> he cannot restrain his curiosity, lifts the cover, and the creature escapes (as do the ashes blown by the wind in the Icelandic tale cited above). Classicists are familiar with this type from the myths of Pandora's box and of the bag of winds given by Aeolus to Odysseus. There is again an example in the sermons of de Vitry<sup>19</sup> and in many modern countries.

Much comparative material for this motif has been adduced by Dr. J. Faragó,<sup>20</sup> who claims that we have a new application of it in the Assyrian tale. Certainly there is here no question of a puzzle to be solved, nor is the Mayor being mocked for excessive curiosity or punished for breaking tabu. Yet it is perhaps not entirely a new application; for the receptacle in type 1416 is essentially only a variant of the closed box falsely said to contain valuables, which leads in the

<sup>15a</sup> See above, note 4.

<sup>16</sup> J. de Vries, *Der kluge Rätsellöser* (FF Communications no. 73).

<sup>17</sup> Motif H.1056 in Stith Thompson, op. cit.

<sup>18</sup> "Tabu, looking into certain receptacles" in Stith Thompson, op. cit., motifs C.320 ff. J. Faragó (see n. 20) following L. György, calls this type "tempting interdict".

<sup>19</sup> T. F. Crane, op. cit., no. XIII.

<sup>20</sup> "A contribution to the tale motif of the bird concealed in the vessel", in *Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Tom. 19 (1970), pp. 147–159.

<sup>21</sup> Motifs H.248.3 and J.1149.7 in Stith Thompson, op. cit.

tales from Iceland and Germany to the extortion of money from the victims. The element of curiosity is explicit in the Icelandic tale; it is missing in the Tale of the Poor Man of Nippur, as it is in the German story, but as we have seen, the episode belongs in other respects to the same type. The function of the birds is the same as that of the ashes: they serve to weight the box, but leave it empty as soon as it is opened.

At the end of the tale several versions have an extra episode which, though it may not lead to a beating, is a kind of fourth revenge.

In the Tale of the First Larrikin the leader of the gang pretends to be dead and arranges a mock burial; but the youth joins the funeral procession and thrusts a pack-needle into the coffin, whereupon the man cries out and sits up and the people think he has returned from the dead. The youth, being afraid, escapes to another country.

In the Cretan tale Choromangiris sends his mother to tell the gang of *dhraki* that he has died and is lying in his grave. They go off to spit on his corpse; but while they are doing this the boy secretly marks their clothes with a seal. He then goes to the Pasha and complains that his father's forty slaves have stolen all his property. The Pasha says he can do nothing without witnesses, but Choromangiris says the slaves all have a seal stamped on their trousers. The *dhraki* are sent for and the seal marks are revealed. They are executed and Choromangiris gets all their property.

In the tale of Peppe from Sicily the robbers wish to send their injured leader to hospital. Peppe disguises himself as a street sweeper with a large sack and the robbers hire him to carry the leader in this to hospital. Peppe, however, takes him out into the mountains, dumps him in a ditch and goes off with all his money.

The tales from Tuscany, Poitou and Provence have a very different trick. The villain sends two of his emissaries to the hero's house, either to pay him the money he owes him or to get it back when it has already been paid (Provence). The hero hangs up a dummy figure of straw and tells the men that it is either his mother (Provence) or a previous visitor and this person has been punished for soiling his or her bed. The men are then accused of having done the same and are either soundly thrashed (Poitou) or make their escape in terror. In the Lorraine version this incident is abbreviated; the two emissaries take fright and escape during the night, but no reason is given.

What then can be learned from these comparisons about the history of our tale? It would be a mistake to suppose that because the Assyrian tale is the first attested example it is therefore the prototype. It is a literary product and doubtless has its roots in an oral tradition of immemorial antiquity. None the less, some suggestions may perhaps be made.

Basic elements are probably the doctor's disguise and the ruse for distracting the attendants, which have survived to the present day. These could never have been the first revenge. The form which the first revenge takes in the Tale of the Poor Man of Nippur seems, as we have seen, more at home in tales of a different type. If it has been transferred from these, the original form of the first revenge may have been the girl's disguise, which is found in nearly all examples (see synopsis), even where the enemy is not a robber but a dignitary, and even in *Trubert*, where it leads, not to a beating, but to another amorous adventure.

The initial swindle probably varied from place to place. However, it seems as if, in the centuries following the downfall of Assyria, perhaps in Persia or Arabia, the tale from India found in the Panchatantra was substituted for this episode and thereafter held its place, giving rise to changes in the revenges: the robber leader was trapped while demonstrating his hook or gallows; the stupid robbers were hoodwinked while purchasing goods in shops; and extra incidents were added at the end. The revenge in the bath-house (Turkey and Crete) and the prevalence of monks or hermits (Italy and France) are examples of local colour.

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\*Nos. 11, 14 and 18 known to me only from the summaries *ap.* Cosquin (no. 13), no. 16 from the reference *ap.* Bolte-Polivka (no. 24), no. 10 from a summary kindly provided by Mr. C. S. Mundy.





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Ancient near Eastern Seals at Charterhouse

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## ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN SEALS AT CHARTERHOUSE

By P. R. S. MOOREY and O. R. GURNEY

The small collection of ancient Near Eastern seals in the school museum at Charterhouse was called to our attention by the kindness of Mr. Ian Blake. It was assembled in the nineteenth century through two gifts, that of D. G. Prinsep in 1876 (eight cylinders) and that of Leonard Marshall in 1896 (sixteen cylinders and five Sassanian stamp seals). No information has survived about the exact source of these seals, though, as will be seen, they might well all come from sites in southern Iraq. We are most grateful to the Governors and Headmaster of Charterhouse for allowing these seals to be taken to Oxford for study and photography. The School authorities also subsidized the cost of photography, which was done by Mr. R. L. Wilkins of the Institute of Archaeology in Oxford. In the following concise catalogue Professor O. R. Gurney is responsible for the seal inscriptions (save for a single Sassanian one kindly read by Dr. A. D. H. Bivar), and Dr. P. R. S. Moorey for the classification, description and discussion of the designs. We gratefully acknowledge advice on various points from Mr. Briggs Buchanan and Professor W. Lambert, who bear no responsibility for any persisting errors. For the abbreviations used in the catalogue see pp. 80-1. Measurements given are in millimetres (height  $\times$  width) ; figures such as 1-1956-2 are the Charterhouse registry numbers.

## AKKADIAN :

1. Cylinder seal ; steatite ; worn surface ; bull rampant, with head thrown back, struggling with a nude man holding a dagger ; lion rampant struggling with a bull-man holding a dagger ; panel of inscription ; seated male deity with right hand raised, crescent above. Roman cross and "tree" in field.

1-1956-2 31  $\times$  20 Presented by D. G. Prinsep, 1876.

*Inscription:* (name of owner)

Possibly *Dan-silli* (MI) (cf. names cited in *MAD* 3, 112-3, 243-4, e.g. *Dan-i-li*, *Dan-ma-lum*, *Ša-lim-MI*).

For this type of design cf. *Boehmer*, Pl. XII. 132 ("Akkadisch II").

2. Cylinder seal ; veined smoky chalcedony ; slightly concave profile with chipped edges and scarred surface ; rampant water-buffalo with head held over backwards struggling with a bearded hero nude save for a belt ; inscription set in a panel of three columns above a man grasping a stylized tree ; bull-man in conflict with a rampant lion, which is attacked from behind by a man.

1-1956-14 33  $\times$  22 Presented by Leonard Marshall, 1896.

*Inscription:* Ā-<sup>a</sup>En-lil-ta

A-Enlil-ta

dub-sar

Scribe

dumu Lugal-šudx

son of Lugal-šud

This type of design is not uncommon on Akkadian seals (for the type of animal contest see *Boehmer*, Pl. XVI), but the deep drilling of details found on this example is unusual. The form of the tree with distinct terminal blobs on the branches is paralleled on a seal now in the Louvre (*Boehmer*, Pl. LX. 716). Edzard has discussed this type of inscription on the basis of *Boehmer's* corpus (*Afo* 22 (1968/9), 14).

3. Cylinder seal ; steatite ; slightly concave profile ; worn surface ; seated deity (Ea) with streams flowing from his shoulders, approached by a minor deity carrying a weapon in his right hand close into his chest (? sheathed dagger) ; then a bird-man, then another minor deity holding a rope behind the bird-man. Fishes and crescent in the field near Ea ; star between the bird-man and minor figure.

2-1956-20 38 × 26 Presented by Leonard Marshall, 1896.

This scene is commonly represented in glyptic of the Akkadian period (*Boehmer*, Pls. XLIII-IV) and has recently been the subject of a special study by Mme. Barrelet (*Orientalia* 39 (1970), 213 ff.)

#### UR III DYNASTY :

4. Cylinder Seal ; serpentine ; good condition ; inscription in three vertical panels ; male figure, bareheaded, introduced by a goddess into the presence of a deified king, who is wearing a rounded cap with a wide brim and holding a cup raised in his right hand. The goddess grasps the suppliant's left hand with her right and raises the left in salute. The king sits on a low cushioned stool set on a platform with a bird (? goose) immediately in front of him ; crescent and star (?) above his right hand.

2-1956-13 29 × 17 Presented by Leonard Marshall, 1896.

*Inscription:* Inim-ma-ni-zi

Inimanizi

dub-sar

Scribe

dumu Šeš-kal-la

son of Šeškalla

This is a typical example, though particularly well cut, of an Ur III presentation scene, with the characteristic bird and crescent filling motifs (cf. for example *CANES* I, 35 ; Pl. XLV. 291 ; *Louvre* I, Pl. 75·15, 17 : A. 206, 208 ; *Berlin*, 271-2, 280). The combination of bird and deity, normally a goddess, is found on slightly later terracotta plaques (M-T. Barrelet, *Figurines et Reliefs en terre cuite de la Mésopotamie antique* I (1968), 231 with bibliography). Geese were regularly offered in temples, indeed some had a "court of geese", and this bird may stand for an offering like the kid regularly proffered on Old Babylonian seals (see nos. 8, 12 here).

#### ISIN-LARSA PERIOD :

5. Cylinder seal ; serpentine ; standing man before a seated figure, intervening blob ; two standing men before a seated figure, two intervening blobs ; all wear long robes with heavy, angled striations ; their hair or caps are similarly rendered. The shoulder protuberances of the standing figures are indecipherable.
- 2-1956-15 18 × 14 Presented by Leonard Marshall, 1896

This cylinder, with its very stylized presentation scene and deep, angular cutting might be associated with either of two glyptic groups, the Old Assyrian of the Assyrian merchant settlements in Anatolia (*CANES* I, nos. 844-861 ; *Berlin*, 505, 508), or the near contemporary Old Elamite style, which is less well known though amply represented among seals from the excavations at Susa (*Louvre* I, Pl. 34 : 2-10 ; M. Rutten, *RA* 44 (1950), Pl. IV. 35 ; V. 37, 40-51 ; VI. 52-4, 56). Both use motifs and themes derived from Mesopotamian glyptic of the Ur III period, among them the presentation of a worshipper to an enthroned god by an interceding goddess used here, and both favoured deeply gouged linear engraving. The presentation scenes of the two styles are normally quite easy to distinguish by the ancillary subjects in the design. These are absent here. Sometime towards the end of the Isin-Larsa period in southern Mesopotamia drill-holes, singly or grouped, were arbitrarily set among the figures, perhaps to identify individual seals in the absence of an inscription (*CS*, 148). This seal may be tentatively ascribed to the eastern periphery of Babylonia in the early second millennium B.C.

#### ISIN-LARSA TO OLD BABYLONIAN :

6. Cylinder seal ; haematite ; procession of a minor deity, suppliant female deity, and male suppliant to a deified king or god seated on a low cushioned stool and holding a small cup in his extended right hand. The seated figure has a beard and wears a rounded cap with wide brim.  
2-1956-11 23 × 12 Presented by Leonard Marshall, 1896.
7. Cylinder seal ; marble ; surface very worn and damaged by natural fractures ; two standing male suppliants in long robes approach a seated deity (goddess ?) on a stool, left hand extended perhaps holding a cup. Traces of an inscription now illegible. Crescent in the field above the deity's outstretched hand.  
1-1956-6 25 × 11 Presented by D. G. Prinsep, 1876.

These two seals are engraved with variations on the long established presentation scene now in its final form ; the worshippers in a garment with embroidered borders and the suppliant goddess with arms raised rather than leading the worshipper by the hand (*CANES* I, 41). Numerous examples survive from the first quarter of the second millennium B.C.

#### OLD BABYLONIAN :

##### a. *Worship of an enthroned deity :*

8. Cylinder seal ; haematite ; standing suppliant with one arm raised ; male worshipper carrying a kid in his arms ; deity seated on a "temple throne" with right hand extended forward ; attendant standing behind the throne with one arm forward. In the upper field : a star in a crescent flanked by two indecipherable motifs ; lower field : ball-staff and monkey.  
2-1956-18 26 × 12 Presented by Leonard Marshall, 1896.

This is a standard version of a typical Old Babylonian scene of worship with a kid brought as an offering to a seated deity ; in this case the scene is flanked by interceding deities and conventional filling motifs (cf. for instance *CANES* I, no. 346 ; *CS*, Pl. XXVIIa, b).

b. *Nude Female*:

9. Cylinder seal ; haematite ; surface very worn and ribbed ; upper and lower border of interlocking squares with triple-ridged margins ; nude female, frontal body, her head looking to the right ; lion-headed staff ; "hero" struggling with an inverted leonine creature with exaggeratedly threatening jaws and lattice mane, his right foot set on its head ; interceding goddess with arms raised ; crescent above a lightning fork ; traces of a standing figure in a flounced skirt. 1-1956-5 25 × 10 Presented by D. G. Prinsep, 1876.

Although the motifs on this seal are typical of the Old Babylonian period, notably the nude female on the left (cf. for instance *CANES* I, nos. 476-506 ; *Oxford*, nos. 475-9), the border is unusual. Normally this would have been engraved on the metal caps fitted over the top and bottom of the seal rather than on the stone itself. The impressions of gold caps with granulated decoration appear as early as the reign of Samsuiluna and are well attested in Kassite times (B. W. Buchanan, *JCS* 11 (1957), 47). The combination of nude female, lion-headed staff and "hero" struggling with lion-demon on the left suggest an association with the god Nergal (*CANES* I, 47, 56), whilst on the right the weather god, represented by his symbol alone, is invoked. He also regularly appears with the nude female (*CANES* I, nos. 503-6).

c. *The War Goddess*:

10. Cylinder seal ; haematite ; very fine cutting well-preserved ; inscription in four vertical columns ; interceding goddess ; bearded male figure with rounded, broad-brimmed cap, carrying a mace in his left hand ; war goddess in multiple horned mitre, upper body frontal, lower body in profile with right leg set on the neck of a crouching lion. Full quivers set on her back and secured by cross-bands (on these see M. H. Pope in *Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck* (ed. J. A. Sanders ; 1971), 178 ff.). She carries a lion-club with spirally decorated handle in her right hand and a scimitar in her left, the tip resting on the ground. Curls, turned over at the ends, fall down either shoulder and two others appear just above her right knee. She wears a trapezoidal plaque at her neck and heavy bracelets on her wrists ; a skirt with multiple folds conceals her left leg. 2-1956-16 206 × 14 Presented by Leonard Marshall, 1896.

*Inscription*: *A-ḥa-am-ar-ši*

*bārūm* (MĀŠ.ŠU.GÍD.GÍD)

*mār E-ri-sú-ma-tum*

*wardum ša <sup>a</sup>Nin-si<sub>4</sub>-an-na*

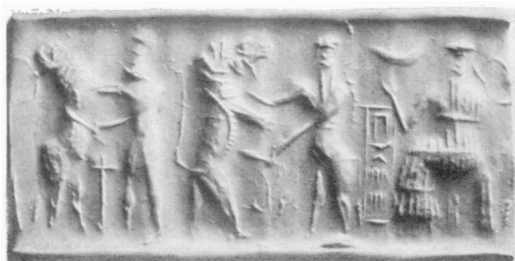
Aham-arši

diviner,

son of Eressum-matum

servant of Ninsianna.

11. Cylinder seal ; haematite ; interceding goddess ; bearded male figure with rounded, broad-brimmed cap, carrying a mace in his left hand ; war goddess rendered very like the same figure in no. 10, but without the zoomorphic mace ; nude bearded hero, upper body frontal, lower in left profile, carrying a vessel (?). 2-1956-17 24 × 12 Presented by Leonard Marshall, 1896.



1



2



3



4



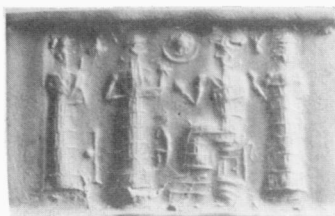
5



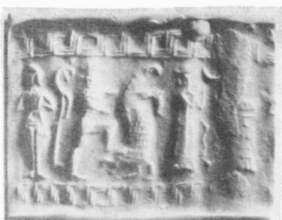
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PLATE XXXV



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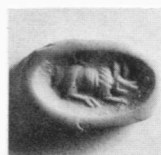
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29

These two seals may best be considered together for apart from the nude bearded hero on no. 11, they employ the same theme, magnificently executed in no. 10. Both probably belong to the *floruit* of the Old Babylonian style in the later nineteenth or early eighteenth century B.C. (Middle Chronology) (cf. the tablet, with impression, dated to the 12th. year of Sin-muballit, B. W. Buchanan, *JCS* 11 (1957), 45, figs. 4–6). As Ninsianna is “Ištar of the star”, there may be some direct link between the inscriptions and the “war goddess” on no. 10 (for Ninsianna see F. R. Kraus, *JCS* 3, (1951), 74). Ištar in full panoply as a warrior is regularly represented on Old Babylonian seals. Her attire and equipment varies little from that shown here. No. 10 particularly reveals its elaborate richness as clearly described in contemporary inventories of the garments and jewellery with which Ištar’s statue was adorned on festive occasions (W. F. Leemans, *Ishtar of Lagaba and her Dress*, 1952). Among her jewellery were necklaces of cylinder seals, many no doubt bearing her picture and the name of the suppliant.

The status of the “man with a mace”, who appears here and on a number of other seals in this collection, is still obscure, though he is one of the commonest figures in Old Babylonian glyptic. An old identification with the god Amurru, first proposed by Heuzey, has not survived thorough examination (J. Kupper, *L’Iconographie du Dieu Amurru* (1961), 9 ff.). Frankfort took him as representative of various deities not excluding a deified king (*CS*, 168), whereas Moortgat argued strongly for an exclusive identity as a deified ruler (*Berlin*, 37–8). Miss Porada takes him to be a “king in warrior garb” (cited by J. Piet in *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* 2 (1969), 33 n.11; see earlier *CANES* I, 51–2). Sometimes he stands on a ground-line, sometimes on a podium as if a deity were intended (see *Newell*, no. 205 and no. 13 here) and he certainly seems to be the object of worship on a fine seal in the Hague which may have belonged to a servant of Zimri-Lim of Mari (J. Menant, *La Haye*, no. 97; E. Weidner, *JKlF* 2 (1952), 137). Indeed the scene on no. 10 is very like that in the upper register of the so-called “Investiture” panel painted on the walls of court 106 in the great palace at Mari (A. Parrot, *MAM* II, *Le Palais: Peintures Murales*, (1958), Pl. A). This analogy could be taken to indicate that we are indeed looking at a mortal king introduced into the presence of his deity, perhaps in a shrine; a man who in other contexts might receive the homage more normally reserved for gods.

12. Cylinder seal; haematite; worn surface; crude cutting; man with a mace; suppliant carrying a kid; war goddess with her right foot on the neck of a crouching lion; no details (? lion on her right shoulder); scimitar in her left hand. Seated deity, on a temple throne, holding a sceptre, crudely disc-cut.  
1-1956-7 28 × 16 Presented by D. G. Prinsep. 1876.

This scene is closely related to that on nos. 10 and 11, though more crudely cut and more explicitly a scene of worship (cf. for instance J. Piet, op. cit., plates on pp. 30–31). The main point of interest here is the subsidiary disc-cut figure which fills the space normally left in the production of these seals for an inscription. It is cut in a manner distinctive of the declining Old Babylonian period, when a few strokes of the cutting disc were substituted for the fine linear detailing favoured earlier. The



coarse cutting of the main theme probably belongs to the eighteenth century B.C., the schematic figure to the mid- or later seventeenth.

d. *God with a Saw* :

13. Cylinder seal ; haematite ; upper and lower edge chipped ; man with a mace standing on a rocky podium ; interceding goddess ; worshipper carrying a kid ; god with a saw, right foot resting on the back of a bearded human-headed bull, wearing a horned crown, and crouching on the ground line ; space for an inscription (there may indeed be very slight traces of an inscription) or another figure.  
2-1956-22 30 × 17 Presented by Leonard Marshall, 1896.
14. Cylinder seal ; haematite ; interceding goddess with arms raised ; male suppliant with a kid set as if walking along his very lightly cut left arm ; right arm raised ; god with a saw, his right foot set on a low podium ; in the field : three blobs above a ball-staff ; star-disc above the kid.  
2-1956-21 28 × 13 Presented by Leonard Marshall, 1896.

Apart from the "man with a mace" in a subsidiary position, these seals illustrate a scene of worship recurrent on Old Babylonian glyptic, with the god Šamaš resting his foot either on a mountain or a monster and holding a saw (cf. *CANES* I, nos. 394-426). Even when the "man with a mace" is set upon a rocky podium, he is still without a horned crown and there is no obvious clue to his relation with the main scene, save for the podium which is often also set beneath figures of Šamaš. The quality of cutting on no. 13 and numerous parallels in detail to no. 10 suggest that they may be from the same hand. Unfortunately it is not known whence Marshall obtained these seals.

e. *God with a Lightning-fork* :

15. Cylinder seal ; haematite ; worn surface ; vertical column of six dots doubled at the top ; interceding goddess with arms raised ; ball and staff ; suppliant with a kid ; star-disc and squatting monkey ; god with a lightning-fork in his right hand, right foot resting on a horned zebu-bull. Subsequent cutting of an inverted standing man with a ball-standard.  
2-1956-9 25 × 14 Presented by Leonard Marshall, 1896.

Although the line of dots and the inversion of the male figure may be to identify an individual seal, the manner of cutting indicates an addition towards the end of the Old Babylonian period (for inversion, see *CS*, Pl. XXVI*f*).

16. Cylinder seal ; haematite ; seven-pointed star on a standard ; god with a lightning-fork standing on the back of a bull which he leads by a rope attached to a nose-ring ; man with a mace ; sun-disc and crescent above a crook ; interceding deity ; double panel of inscription.  
2-1956-24 26 × 13 Presented by Leonard Marshall, 1896.

*Inscription:* *Mār-Ištar*  
*warad* <sup>d</sup>MAR.TU

*Mar-Ištar*  
servant of Amurru.

Despite the unusual form of the attribute in no. 15, these two seals bear representations of the weather-god Adad identified by the bull and lightning-fork (A. Vanel, *L'Iconographie du Dieu de l'Orage* (1965), 29 ff.), once in the main position, once complementary to the "man with a mace". The theme appeared relatively late in Old Babylonian glyptic, as the elongated form of the figures in no. 16 would suggest (*CANES* I, 58-9). The association of Adad and Amurru in cylinder inscriptions (*Berlin*, no. 410) and in the iconography of seals is not uncommon (J. Kupper, *L'Iconographie du Dieu Amurru*, figs. 27, 33, 48).

f. "Man with a mace":

17. Cylinder seal; rock crystal; surface chipped and slightly fractured; "man with a mace" facing an adoring goddess; spade above a lightning fork set between them; inscription in three vertical columns.

1-1956-3 25 × 12 Presented by D. G. Prinsep, 1876.

<i>Inscription:</i> <sup>a</sup> <i>Sin-re-me-ni</i> <i>mār</i> <sup>a</sup> <i>Adad-šar-rum</i> <i>warad</i> <sup>a</sup> <i>Adad</i>	Sin-remenni son of Adad-šarrum servant of Adad
--	--

18. Cylinder seal; haematite; slightly concave profile; edges chipped; "man with a mace"; adoring goddess with arms raised and a heavy counterpoise to her necklace running down her back (see reference under no. 21); blank space; crescent in upper field, crook in lower.

2-1956-12 13 × 23 Presented by Leonard Marshall, 1896.

A wide variety of Old Babylonian seals exist with variations of the theme on nos. 17-18: "man with a mace" confronted by a suppliant goddess with various deity symbols in the field (cf. *CANES* I, nos. 427-462). What interest these designs have lies in the symbols. Here in one case it is the spade of Marduk and the lightning-fork of Adad (E. D. van Buren, *Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art* (1945), 14 ff., 67 ff.); in the other the crescent of Sin and the crook of Amurru (van Buren, *op. cit.*, 60 ff.; Kupper, *op. cit.*, 42 ff.). For the "man with a mace", see under no. 11.

g. *Amurru*:

19. Cylinder seal; veined chalcedony; inscription in two vertical columns; two crooks set on the back of a recumbent animal with horns; spade.

1-1956-1 19 × 85 Presented by D. G. Prinsep, 1876.

<i>Inscription:</i> <sup>a</sup> <i>MAR.TU</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>dumu</i> <sup>a</sup> <i>n-na</i>	(God) Amurru son of Anu	(Note peculiar form of AN, as in no. 21.)
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This simple seal is of interest as direct confirmation for the identification of Amurru's symbols as the crook and the crouched animal, whose identity varies. It seems most commonly to be a gazelle, more rarely a goat or a ram, indicative of the god's protean character (J. Kupper, *L'Iconographie du Dieu Amurru* (1961), 49 ff.). The symbols placed thus appear on *de Clercq* 232; on a tag impression published by Buchanan the animal's head is also duplicated (*JCS* 11 (1957), 45, figs. 1-3).

*h. War-god:*

20. Cylinder seal ; haematite ; suppliant facing a god holding a lion-club in his right hand extended forward and a scimitar in his left down by his side ; right foot set on an animal's back ; star-disc in crescent in the upper field ; inscription in three vertical columns.

2-1956-19 27 × 11 Presented by Leonard Marshall, 1896.

<i>Inscription:</i>	<sup>d</sup> Nin-šubur-re	Nin-šubur
	níg-mu-zu-zu	wise in all things
	arḥuṣ-tuku-ma-ra-ab	have mercy on me

Here a war-god, head in profile, and without back-quivers, appears in the same pose and with much the same equipment as the war-goddess of nos. 10-11. This deity is rarer in Old Babylonian glyptic than his female counterpart (cf. *CANES* I, no. 379). Seal inscriptions may by no means always be relied upon to elucidate an accompanying scene, but it is possible that here the deity represented is indeed Nin-šubur, vizier of Inanna (on the sex of this deity see E. Bergmann, *ZA* NF 22 (1964), 32), who might well be expected, as here, to wear a version of his mistress's livery. The style of this cylinder suggests a date at the very end of the Old Babylonian period.

*i. Inscriptions flanked by deities:*

21. Cylinder seal ; marble ; chipped ; inscription in two vertical columns flanked by adoring goddesses in flounced skirts with arms raised ; one at least is shown with a necklace counterpoise running down her back.

2-1956-23 15 × 27 Presented by Leonard Marshall, 1896.

<i>Inscription:</i>	<sup>d</sup> Nin-si <sub>4</sub> -an-na	Ninsianna
	<sup>d</sup> Kab-ta	Kabta

Note the peculiar form of AN, as in no. 19.

Lambert discussed this type of inscription and the significance of the two deities mentioned in *Iraq* 28 (1966), 73. This very simple, monotonous design was current from the late Larsa until the very end of the Old Babylonian period ; the suppliant goddess in this form is rare in the Kassite period, though then seals largely covered with inscriptions were most popular (cf. *CANES* I, nos. 558-566). The character and dress of the two flanking goddesses, so often found singly in Old Babylonian glyptic, have been elucidated by Mlle. A. Spycket (*RA* 42 (1948), 89-97 ; *RA* 54 (1960), 73-84 ; see also D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 22 (1960), 161-171).

22. Cylinder seal ; haematite ; inscription in three vertical columns flanked by very crudely cut standing figures ; one in ankle-length robe with arms extended forward, the other in knee-length tunic with right arm to side and left bent at the elbow.

1-1956-8 26 × 11 Presented by D. G. Prinsep, 1876.

<i>Inscription:</i>	<i>Nu-up-pu?-ḥu-um</i>	Nuppuhum (?)
	<i>mār Gu-ru-du-um</i>	son of Qurrudum ("Baldy")
	<i>wardum šà Kak/Ni/Ir-ri-ka/sag-ra-maš/a[k]</i>	servant of . . . . .

This design is formally like no. 21, but the cutting of the attendant figures is flat, featureless and crude with the cutting of a drill in one case, a disc in the other, left undisguised. The emergence of such seals in Babylonia may be traced from impressions on tablets dated to the reigns of Ammišaduqa and Samsuditana (c. 1646–1595 B.C.) (B. W. Buchanan, *Oxford*, 97; W. Nagel, *AfO* 20 (1963), 126–7). At this time in glyptic, as in political affairs, Babylonian influences in Elam were very strong. It is often only possible to distinguish the home of such seals as this by their inscription, e.g. by the use of *ša*. Several signs in the inscription appear to be incorrectly formed. The last line appears to contain the name of an otherwise unknown Elamite deity.

## KASSITE :

23. Cylinder seal; veined chalcedony; upper and lower edges chipped; surface entirely covered by an inscription in nine columns (lines).

2-1956-10 25 × 12 Presented by Leonard Marshall, 1896.

<i>Inscription:</i> <i>Ī-lī-re-me-an-ni</i>	Ili-remeanni
<i>mār I-bi-<sup>a</sup>En-līl</i>	son of Ibi-Enlil
<i>arad <sup>a</sup>En-līl</i>	servant of Enlil
⌈ <i>ū</i> ⌋ <i><sup>a</sup>Nin-é-an-na</i>	and Nin-eanna,
⌈ <i>pa</i> ⌋- <i>līh šarri be-lī-šu</i>	who reveres the king, his lord
<i><sup>a</sup>E-a(-?) ga-mil</i>	Ea-gamil(?),
⌈ <i>lī</i> ⌋- <i>it-ta-ši-ir?</i> <i>lī</i> -[ x x ]	may he prosper(?), may he . . . .
⌈ <i>ū</i> ⌋? <i>ba-la-ṭa</i>	[and] with life
<i>lī-iš-bi</i>	may he be sated.

This inscription is unique in several respects, as may now be seen by reference to the recent monograph by H. Limet, *Les légendes des sceaux cassites* (Brussels, 1971). First and foremost there is the name of Ea-gamil, the last king of the first dynasty of the Sea Land, if indeed this is a personal name and not the name of the god Ea followed by an epithet. Normally the apposition “the king, his lord” would be expected to follow the name, not to precede it, as here; but the word *gāmil*, if an epithet of Ea, would require a following genitive and it is difficult to find one in line 7. With Ea-gamil as the name of the king we obtain a satisfactory syntax for the whole inscription, reading the last three lines as three prayers for blessing on the seal’s owner. The verb *litta(š)šir* would be a I/3 form from *ešēru*. If correctly interpreted, this would be only the second document to come to light from the kingdom of the Sea Land, the other being the mace-head of Ulaburariash (see B. Landsberger, *JCS* 8 (1954), 70).

## NEO-BABYLONIAN :

24. Cylinder; yellowish chalcedony; male worshippers flanking a very stylized sacred tree with a winged disc hovering above, two on one side, one on the other.  
1-1956-4 28 × 12 Presented by D. G. Prinsep, 1876.

The theme of a sacred tree between worshippers is common enough in the earlier first millennium B.C., but is rarely as stylized as in this case. Indeed were it not for numerous more elaborate examples the “tree” would be barely recognisable. The cut style of this seal has been identified by Miss Porada as distinctive of Babylonian

workshops. As the motif also appears in Neo-Assyrian linear style seals of the ninth to eighth centuries B.C., this seal is probably contemporary with them (see for the style, E. Porada, *Orientalia* 16 (1947), 157 ff.).

#### SASSANIAN STAMP-SEALS :

25. Plain ellipsoid back ; horizontal boring ; veined agate ; oval frame for a humped bull with an inscription along the top and down the front of the animal : 'pst'n 'L yzd : "reliance on the deity". (Kindly read by Dr. A. D. H. Bivar).  
2-1956-25 18 × 15 Presented by Leonard Marshall, 1896.  
For this design cf. *BM Bivar*, Pls. 15-16 ; for the inscription form, *ibid.*, p. 19 ; *Borisov/Lukonin*, no. 427. Probably 4th. century A.D.
  
26. Decorated ellipsoid back ; wide horizontal boring ; agate ; sides cut decoratively ; oval frame for a griffin *passant*.  
2-1956-26 23 × 20 Presented by Leonard Marshall, 1896.  
For this design see *BM Bivar*, Pl. 13 EG 13 ; p. 143, fig. BC 3 for shape and back decoration. Probably 5th. century A.D.
  
27. Plain ellipsoid back ; horizontal boring ; agate ; oval frame for a standing man before an altar with a fire burning on top.  
2-1956-27 17 × 20 Presented by Leonard Marshall, 1896.  
For this design see *BM Bivar*, Pl. 5 BD 1-5 ; *Borisov/Lukonin*, no. 152. Probably 5th. century A.D. ; for such altars see recently D. Stronach, *JNES* 25 (1966), 217 f.
  
28. Plain hemispherical back ; narrow horizontal boring ; haematite ; oval frame for a winged "horse" *passant*.  
2-1956-28 17 × 8 Presented by Leonard Marshall, 1896.  
For this design see *BM Bivar*, Pls. 12-13 ED 1-EE 9 ; *Borisov/Lukonin*, no. 281. Probably 5th. century A.D.
  
29. Plain ellipsoid back ; wide horizontal boring ; carnelian ; oval frame for a wild boar *passant*.  
2-1956-29 19 × 15 Presented by Leonard Marshall, 1896.  
For this design see *BM Bivar*, Pl. 20 GB 3. Probably 5th. century A.D.

#### Abbreviations

<i>Berlin</i>	A. Moortgat, <i>Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel</i> (Berlin, 1940).
<i>BM Bivar</i>	<i>Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum, Stamp Seals</i> , II : A. D. H. Bivar, <i>The Sassanian Dynasty</i> (London, 1969).
<i>Boehmer</i>	R. M. Boehmer, <i>Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit</i> (Berlin, 1965).
<i>Borisov/Lukonin</i>	A. Ya. Borisov and V. G. Lukonin, <i>Sasanidskii gemmy. Katalog sobraniya gosudarstvennogo ermitazha</i> , (Leningrad, 1962).
<i>CANES I</i>	<i>Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections I</i> , : E. Porada, <i>The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library</i> (New York, 1948).
<i>CS</i>	H. Frankfort, <i>Cylinder Seals</i> (London, 1939).
<i>de Clercq</i>	L. de Clercq, <i>Collection de Clercq, I, Cylindres orientaux</i> (Paris, 1888).

- Louvre* L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental*, Musée du Louvre (Paris), I : *Fouilles et Missions*, 1920 ; II : *Acquisitions*, 1923.
- Newell* H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Edward T. Newell*, OIP XXII (Chicago, 1934).
- Oxford* B. Buchanan, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum, I: Cylinder Seals* (Oxford, 1966).



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The Fifth Tablet of "The Topography of Babylon"

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## THE FIFTH TABLET OF “THE TOPOGRAPHY OF BABYLON”

By O. R. GURNEY

The series “Topography of Babylon”, known from its first line as *DIN.TIR*<sup>k1</sup> = *Bābilu*, was first put together from several fragments by Eckhard Unger in a chapter contributed to F. Wetzel, *Die Stadtmauern von Babylon* (*WVDOG* 48, 1930), then repeated with some minor changes (not always for the better) in his book *Babylon, Die heilige Stadt* (1931). In a long review of the latter book in *ZA* NF 7 (1933) B. Landsberger and F. H. Weissbach made a number of improvements in the text and its translation. But the only major additions to the preserved text as presented by Unger have come from tablets excavated at Kish, now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and published by P. E. van der Meer in Volume 5 of this journal (1938) and in *Archiv für Orientforschung* 13. While cataloguing the Ashmolean collection I have succeeded in joining not only two of the fragments published by van der Meer but also six more pieces of this same tablet, which now has at least parts of every line with the exception of a few at the beginning and end. It is the purpose of the present article to present an edition of this important tablet, with its duplicates, containing as it does an almost complete list of the “daises”, i.e. chapels, of Marduk (*parakkī*), a section which was largely missing, together with the gates, walls, rivers and streets of the city, the totals for the different items, and a section at the end describing the ten districts of the city which is also partly new. The article is dedicated to Sir Max Mallowan, who has lectured on Babylon at Oxford, in the hope that he will find some interest in a dry catalogue of the city’s topographical features such as this tablet offers.

In the series as a whole, the section represented by this tablet is certainly the last, being preceded by the various names of the city and lists of its temples and “seats” (*šubtu*). This we know from the tablet from Babylon VAT 13101 (here “H”), which begins with the first line of the series [*DIN.TIR*<sup>k1</sup>] *ba-bi-lu šá ta! na!-da-a-ti u re-šá-a-ti šar-kaš!* “*DIN.TIR*=Babylon, to which praise and joy are given”<sup>1</sup>, followed by the first few lines of the list of names, continues in Col. II with part of the list of “seats” (*šubtu*), duplicates the present text in col. III, and in col. IV—if the present reconstruction is correct—contains just the lines which are missing at the end of our tablet; it concludes with a colophon apparently stating that the series is finished and this is its fifth tablet, but which, as pointed out by Landsberger, has to be understood in the sense that the series was regarded as having five tablets and that VAT 13101 contained the text of all of them. From Kish we have the first tablet, 1924–849, with the list of names, and this leads on according to its catch-line to the list of “seats”

<sup>1</sup> Restored from Ashm. 1924–849:1, in which the *ta* is clear and is followed by traces of the *na* which in turn is clear on the photograph of VAT 13101 in

*WVDOG* 48. Both tablets have been misread in the past. I am indebted to W. G. Lambert for the reading of the last word, which is derived from duplicates.



(*šubtu*), which is represented by 1924-810.<sup>2</sup> There is no clear link between this and the list of main temples, 1924-846; but since this duplicates the obverse of our MS. "D" it is evident that it must precede the present text, which is carried by D on its reverse. There may, however, be a large lacuna between the *šubtu*'s and the temples, and that this is indeed so is suggested by the fact that the British Museum tablet 34878 (here "E") has on one side a text (Unger's *Abschnitt F*) for which there are no duplicates. If this text is actually part of Tablet III, it would follow that Unger was right and Pinches wrong in their identification of the obverse and reverse of the tablet.<sup>3</sup> The present text will then be Tablet V.

From the remains of the catch-line of G, which ends with the name Esagil, Unger inferred that the series DIN.TIR<sup>k1</sup> was followed by the well-known "Esagila Tablet" giving the measurements of the temple etc. Another small fragment in the Ashmolean Museum, 1924-1538, closely resembling 1924-807 in script and general appearance, has in its first few lines of one side—probably the reverse—the names of the gates of Esagil, exactly duplicating obv. 12-13 of the Esagila tablet, though the following text and the other side of the tablet are different. A copy of the fragment is given on Plate VII, together with the two unpublished duplicates of 1924-807, manuscripts B and F.<sup>4</sup>

### *Manuscripts*

Oxford	Plate	Lines	Symbol
<i>From Kish:</i>			
1924-807 + 1415 + 1501 + 1830 + 2044 + 2057 + 2 unnumbered pieces	V-VI	7-97	A
British Museum			
<i>From Nineveh:</i>			
K. 8515	VII	23-48	B
K. 15122		49-55	C
K. 3089 + 10924, rev.		65-86	D
<i>From Babylon (?) :</i>			
34878, obv. (?)		71-85	E
46070	VII	78-89	F
Berlin			
<i>From Babylon:</i>			
VAT. 554, obv. I, II		9-30, 47-58	G
rev. III, IV		75-90, 97-103	
VAT. 13101, rev. III, IV		50-64, 98-103	H

<sup>2</sup> 1924-849, 810 and 846, published by van der Meer in *Iraq* 5, 55 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See *CT* 51, foreword.

<sup>4</sup> My thanks are due to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish the two fragments.

*Previous publication*

- A: 807 obv. and rev. copied by P. E. van der Meer, *AfO* 13, Taf. IX, X.  
 1415 obv. and rev. copied *ibid.*, Taf. X as "unnumbered fragment".  
 Notes by van der Meer, *ibid.*, p. 127.
- B: ll. 7-11 quoted in C. Bezold, *Catalogue*, III, 933.
- C: lines copied by L. W. King, *Supplement* to Bezold's *Catalogue*, 159.
- D: K. 3089 copied by T. G. Pinches, *PSBA* 22 (1900), 359-360.  
 Photograph of joined fragments: W. L. Moran, *Analecta Biblica* 12 (1959), Pl. XVIII.
- E: Photograph: F. Wetzel, *Die Stadtmauern von Babylon* (*WVDOG* 48), Taf. 83; and  
 E. Unger, *Babylon*, Taf. 47 (with obv. and rev. inverted).  
 Copy by T. G. Pinches, *CT* 51 (1972), no. 92.
- G: Photograph: F. Wetzel, *ibid.*, Taf. 82.  
 Copy by G. Reisner, *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen* (1896), p. 142.
- H. Photograph: F. Wetzel, *ibid.*, Taf. 82.

(The Text appears in Transliteration, Translation and copy on the following pages.)

*Transliteration*

- 1-6. . . . .  
 7. *para*[*kku* . . . . .  
 8. *parakku* x[ . . . . .  
 9. *parakku* *šu*-[*lul* . . . . . ] x [ . . . . . ]  
 10. *parakku* *šu*-[*lul* . . . . . ] x -šú  
 11. *parakku* *šu*-l[*ul* . . . . .] *é-sag-il*  
 12. *parakku* *tu*-kul-[*ti* . . . . .] *um-ma-ni-šú*  
 13. *parakku* *tu*-kul-*t*[*i ilāni*<sup>meš</sup>] *ahḫē*<sup>meš</sup>-šú  
 14. [*parakk*]u ʿša<sup>?</sup>-lim<sup>?</sup> ʿzik<sup>?</sup>-[. . . . .] x šá *ekallī-ia*  
 15. [*parakku* *k*]u-ru-ub [*liš*]-*me*  
 16. [*parakku*] *ku*-ru-ub *liš-me*  
 17. [*parakku* *k*]u<sup>r</sup>-ru<sup>?</sup>-ub<sup>r</sup> [. . . . .  
 18. [*parakku* *mu-ḥa*]d-di *bābīli*<sup>k1</sup> <sup>a</sup>*marduk*  
 19. [*parakku* x x] *ilāni*<sup>meš</sup> u <sup>a</sup>iš-tar *la*-. . . . .  
 20. [*parakku* *i*-]qu-lu *ilāni*<sup>meš</sup> *a-na* <sup>a</sup>*marduk*  
 21. [*parakk*]u ʿit-bal<sup>r</sup> it-ʿti<sup>?</sup> *ba-bi-li* <sup>a</sup>*marduk*  
 22. [*parak*]ku *e-pir*<sup>?</sup>! {MAŠ} *ba-bi-li* <sup>a</sup>*marduk*  
 23. [*parakk*]u *li-bur* *dan-nu* <sup>a</sup>*pa-bil-sag*  
 24. [*parak*]ku *kisal* *ḥa-lu-úb*  
 25. *parak* *ub-sa-ḥa-ri*  
 26. [*parakku*] <sup>u</sup>-suḫ *iš-di* *rag-gu* <sup>a</sup>*marduk*  
 27. [*parakku*] *ḥul-liq* *nap-ḥar* *a-a-bi* <sup>a</sup>*marduk*  
 28. [*parakku*] *lu-mur* *di-in-šú*  
 29. *parak* *uk-ku-mi*  
 30. [*parakku*] *i-šem-mi* *ik-kil-la-šú*  
 31. *parakku* *mut-tab-bil* *nar-bi-šú*  
 32. *parakku* [*z*]a-nin *sak-ke-e-šú*  
 33. *parakku* [*rē*]ú(SIPA) *šá* *ma-ti-šú*  
 34. *parakku* *mu-dam-mi-iq* *ma-gi-ri-šú*  
 35. *parakku* ʿab-ba<sup>8</sup> na-si-iḫ *rag-gi*  
 36. *parakku* *i-le-ʾi* *i-re-ʾi* *ra-ʾi-me* <sup>a</sup>*marduk*  
 37. *parakku* <sup>a</sup>e<sub>4</sub>-ru<sub>6</sub>-ú-a *re-ʾa-ti* *nišī*<sup>meš</sup>-š[ú]  
 38. *parakku* *ma-ši* *a-di* *ma-ti* *iq-bi-šú* <sup>a</sup>šamšu[<sup>sú</sup>]

*Variants*

- 15-16 G in one line      17-18 G in one line (?)      19 G: [DIN]GIR.MEŠ u <sup>a</sup>xv  
*il-lat* <sup>a</sup>AMAR.UTU      20 G: *ana*      21 G: . . . ] x-di <sup>e</sup>k1 <sup>a</sup>AMAR.UTU      22 G:  
<sup>j</sup>E<sup>k1</sup> <sup>a</sup>AMAR.UTU      23 G: . . . d]a<sup>?</sup>-nu      23 ff. B om. BĀRA, except in [25?]. 29

*Translation*

- 1-6. . . . .
7. Chapel: . . . . .
8. Chapel: . . . . .
9. Chapel: "Protection . . . . ."
10. Chapel: "Protection . . . of his . . ."
11. Chapel: "Protection . . . of Esagil."
12. Chapel: "Trusty helper . . . of his people."
13. Chapel: "Trusty helper [of the gods] his brothers."
14. [Chapel]: " . . . . ."
15. [Chapel:] "Pray (and) [let] him hear."
16. [Chapel:] "Pray (and) let him hear."
17. [Chapel:] "Pray . . . . ."
18. [Chapel:] "Marduk is [the one who makes] Babylon [gl]ad."
19. [Chapel:] " . . . ] of the gods and goddess(es) . . . . ."<sup>5</sup>
20. [Chapel:] "The gods paid heed to Marduk."
21. [Chapel:] "Marduk took away the . . . of Babylon."
22. [Chapel:] "Marduk is the provider of food(?) for Babylon."
23. [Chapel:] "May the mighty Pabilsag prevail."
24. [Chapel:] "Courtyard of *haluppu*-wood."
25. Chapel of *ubsahara*.
26. [Chapel:] "O Marduk, uproot the foundation of the wicked."
27. [Chapel:] "O Marduk, destroy all enemies."
28. [Chapel:] "May-I-see-his-judgement" (name of a god).
29. Chapel of Ukkumu (one of Marduk's dogs: "Snatcher").
30. [Chapel:] "He will hear his complaint."
31. Chapel: "Minister of his greatness."
32. Chapel: "Provider of food for his rites."
33. Chapel: "Shepherd of his country."
34. Chapel: "Benefactor of those who obey him."
35. Chapel: "Abba, who drives away the wicked."
36. Chapel: "Marduk, the loving one, is powerful, is a shepherd."
37. Chapel: "O Erua, you are shepherd of his people."
38. Chapel: "Šamaš said to him 'Enough! How long?' "

24-25, 28-29 B.G. in one line    25 BG: ub-saḥar-ra    26 B: rag-gi    28 B: di-in-šu  
 32-33 B in one line    32 B: sa-ki-šú    33 B: re-é-a-um ma-ti-šú  
 34 B: mu-dam-me-iq    35 B: <sup>d</sup>ab-ba    37 B: <sup>d</sup>e<sub>4</sub>-ru<sub>6</sub>-u<sub>8</sub>    38 B: ma-a-ši

<sup>5</sup> G: . . . ] gods and goddesses of the clan(?) of Marduk (see notes on text).

39. *parakku lim-mir ba-bi-l[u āli el]-l[i?]*  
 40. *parakku li-bur za-nin é-sag-[il]*  
 41. *[parakku] ʿše.ʿ-ʿti-ma ʿla? e.ʿ-ti-ʿiq*  
 42. *parakku šilli(GISSU) an-ḥu-t[i x x]-e*  
 43. *pa[rakk]u ʰnabû daiiā[n . . .]*  
 44. *[parak]ku ʿta-a-bi x x [x]*  
 45. *[parakku i-]re-mu en-šú ʰ[marduk]*  
 46. *[parakku i-re]-mi šu-nu-ḥu ʰ[marduk]*  
 47. *[parakku ʿta-a]-bi ina pi-i niš.ʿmeš ʰ[marduk]*  
 48. *ʿparakku ʿ[ x x -r]a biṭ abul ʰx[*  
 49. *abullu ik-kib-šú na-ka-ri abul ʰuraš*  
 50. *abullu i-zi-ir ár-šú abul ʰza-ba₄-ba₄*  
 51. *abullu še.ʿ-a-šú i-re-mi abul ʰmarduk*  
 52. *abullu ʰištar šá-ki-pat tēbi(ZI)-šú abul ʰiš-[tar]*  
 53. *abullu ʰen-lil [mu.ʿ-š]e.ʿ-šir-šú abul ʰ[en-lil]*  
 54. *abullu li-bur na-du-šu abul šarri*  
 55. *abullu ʰadad napīštiʰ ummāni(ERÍN.MEŠ) ušur abul ʰadad*  
 56. *abullu ʰšamaš išid(SUḪUŠ) ummāni(ERÍN.MEŠ) ukīn(GI.NA) abul ʰšamši*

57/58. *dūru im-gur ʰen-lil dūr-šú : dūru né-met ʰen-lil šal-ḥ[u-šú]*

59. *ʰa-ra-aḥ-tu[m nār] ḥegalli(ḪÉ.GÁL)*

60/61. *ʰḥu-du-uk-[ . . . . ʰ] ʰli-bil-ḥé-gál-la atap(PA₅) ʰšamšiʰi*

62. *[sūqu] i-šem-me še.ʿ-a-šú [. . . .]. . . ma.ʿ-šú?*

63/64. *sūqu ku-nu-uš-kad-ru sūqu qatnu(SIG)<sup>nu</sup> : sūqu a-a-i-[bur-šá-bu]-ú ʿsūqu ʿr[apšu]*

65. *sūqu ʿta-a-b[i x ú.ʿ-]la-lu-ma [. . . . .]*

66. *sūqu a-ú ilu ʿki-i ʰmarduk ʿe.ʿ ta-na[r- . .]x šillu(GISSU) [. . .]*

67. *sūqu ʰnabû da-a-a-an ni-ši-šú sūq ab[ul ʰuraš]*

68. *sūqu ʰza-ba₄-ba₄ mu-ḥal-liq ga-ri-šú sūq abul ʰ[za-ba₄-ba₄]*

69. *sūqu ʰmarduk re.ʿi mātī-šú sūq abul gi-[iš-šu]*

70. *sūqu ʰištar lamassi(ʰLAMA) um-ma-ni-šú sūq abul ʰ[ištar]*

71. *sūqu ʰen-lil mu-kin šarru-ti-šú sūq abul ʰ[en-l]il*

72. *sūqu ʰsīn(XXX) mu-kin agé be-lu-ti-šú sūq abul ʰ[sīn?]*

39 B: *li-im-mir* KÁ.DINGIR.RA.[KI] only  
 one line 47 G: . . . ] *ina* KA(?) [. . .

41-42 B in one line

43-44 B in

one line 49 *ik-kib-šú*, Wadi Brisa

G: *Aš-kib-šú*

*na-kar* Wadi Brisa: *na-ka-ar*

51 H: *šu*-. . . G: *i-re-mu*

52 *šá-ki-pat*, G;

Wadi Brisa: *sa-ki-pat te-e-bi-šú* G: *te-bi-šú* C: ʰxv

53 G: *mu-šim?* BIR? -šú

39. Chapel: "Let Babylon [the hol]y [city] shine."  
 40. Chapel: "May the provider for Esagil flourish."  
 41. [Chapel]: "He shall not escape my net" (?)  
 42. Chapel: "Protection of the we[ary] . . ."  
 43. Chapel: "Nabû, judge [. . . . .]"  
 44. [Chapel]: "Good [. . . . .]"  
 45. [Chapel: "Marduk] has mercy on the weak(?)."  
 46. [Chapel: "Marduk has merc]y(?) on the weary."  
 47. [Chapel: "Marduk] is esteem]ed(?) in the mouth of the people."  
 48. Chapel: "[. . .]. house of the gate of . . ."  
 49. Gate: "Enmity is his abomination:" gate of Uraš.  
 50. Gate: "It repels him who attacks it:" gate of Zababa.  
 51. Gate: "He shows mercy to his friend:" gate of Marduk.  
 52. Gate: "Ištar, the overthrower of her attacker:" gate of Ištar.  
 53. Gate: "Enlil is the one who gives him success(?):" gate of [Enlil].  
 54. Gate: "May its founder flourish:" gate of the King.  
 55. Gate: "Adad, protect the life of the people!": gate of Adad.  
 56. Gate: "Šamaš has made firm the foundation of the people:" gate of Šamaš.  
 57/58. Wall "Enlil was gracious" its (inner) wall: wall "Rampart of Enlil" [its] outer wall.  
 59. Arahtum canal, [river of] abundance.  
 60/61. Huduk- . . . canal . . . ; Libil-hegalla ("May-it-bring-abundance") canal, canal of Šamaš.  
 62. [Street]: "He will hear his friend" [. . . . .]. . . .<sup>6</sup>  
 63/64. Street: "Bend down, proud one!", a narrow street: street Ai-ibūr-šabû, ("May the arrogant not flourish"), a [wide] street.  
 65. Street: "Good [. . . w]eak(?) [. . . . .]"  
 66. Street: "What god is like Marduk? . . . protection . . ."  
 67. Street: "Nabû, judge of his people": street of the Uraš gate.  
 68. Street: "Zababa, destroyer of his enemies": street of the [Zababa] gate.  
 69. Street: "Marduk, shepherd of his country": street of the Giššu gate.  
 70. Street: "Ištar, protectress of her people": street of the [Ištar] gate.  
 71. Street: "Enlil establisher of his kingship": street of the Enlil gate.  
 72. Street: "Sin establisher of his royal crown": street of the [Sin] gate.

57-58 GH in 2 lines      58 GH om. *dūru*      60-61 H in 2 lines  
 61 H: *li-bil-ḫé-gál-li* (om. <sup>1d</sup>)      62-64 H om. *SILA*      66 D in two lines?      67 D  
 UN<sup>me</sup>-šú      69 DG: *SIPA*      69-82 D om. *SILA* at beginning      70 D: *ḫiṣ-tar la-mas-si*  
 71 D: *NAM.LUGAL.LA-šú*      72 D: *ḫxxx MIN AGA NAM.LUGAL.LA-šú*      E: *EN-[x x -š]ú*

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps another street name.

73. *sūqu* <sup>a</sup>*adad* *za-nin ni-ši-šú sūq* *abul* <sup>a</sup>[*adad*]  
 74. *sūqu* <sup>a</sup>*šamaš* *šu-lul um-ma-ni-šú sūq* *abul* <sup>a</sup>*šamši*  
 75. *sūqu* *ku-ru-ub liš-me-e-ka me-e ú-su*  
 76/77. *sūqu sūq*(E.SÍR) *damiq-ili-šú* : *sūq*(E.SÍR) *erbelti*(KA.LIMMÚ.BA)  
 78/79. *sūqu sūq*(E.SÍR) <sup>a</sup>*sibitti*(IMIN.BI) : *sūq*(E.SÍR) *ili* <sup>a</sup>*maš-tab-ba*
- 80/81. *sūqu hu-ud-da mat-su* : *sūq*(E.SÍR) *ta-as-su ka-ra-<sup>u</sup>bi?*<sup>u</sup>  
 82. *sūqu i-šem-mu a-na ru-ú-qu su-ul-a* <sup>a</sup>*marduk*  
 83. *naphar* [43?] *ma-ḥaz-zi ilāni*<sup>meš</sup> *rabūti*<sup>meš</sup> *lib-bi bābili*  
 84. 55 *parakkī*<sup>aš-aš</sup> <sup>a</sup>*marduk*(AMAR.UTU.KE<sub>4</sub>)  
 85. 2 *kir-ḥi* 3 *nārāti*<sup>meš</sup> 8 *abullāti*<sup>meš</sup> 24 *sūq*(SILA) *bābili*  
 86. 300 *parak* <sup>a</sup>*i-gi-gi* u 600 *parak* <sup>a</sup>[*nun-na-ki*]  
 87. 180 *ibrat*(UB.LÍL.LÁ) <sup>a</sup>*ištar* 180 *manzāz*(KI.GUB) <sup>a</sup>*lugal-<sup>\*</sup>gír-ra* u <sup>a</sup>*mes-lam-ta-è-a*  
 88. 12 *manzāz*(KI.GUB) <sup>a</sup>*sibitti* 6 *manzāz*(KI.GUB) *zibbāti*(KUN.MEŠ)  
 89. 2 *manzāz*(KI.GUB) BA? x[. . .] 2 *manzāz*(KI.GUB) <sup>a</sup>RA [. . .  
*u bābilu* <sup>a</sup>DI? x<sup>a</sup> [. . . . .  
 90. *ba-bi-li bu-un-na-an-n*[*i-šú* . . . . .  
 91. *eri-dū*<sup>k1</sup> *šá é-sag-il ina qer-b*[*i-šu ib-ba-nu-ú* . . . .  
 92. *ištu* *abul maḥiri*(KI.LAM) *adi* *abulli* <sup>a</sup>*širi*(MAḤ)<sup>u</sup>? T[E?<sup>a</sup>E<sup>k1</sup>? *šumšu*]  
 93. *ištu* *abul maḥiri*(KI.LAM) *adi* *abul* <sup>a</sup>*uraš* DIN.[TIR<sup>k1</sup> *šumšu*]  
 94. *ištu* *abulli širi*(MAḤ) *adi* *abul* <sup>a</sup>*ištār*<sup>a</sup> K[<sup>a</sup>.DINGIR.RA<sup>k1</sup>? *šumšu*]  
 95. *ištu* *abul* <sup>a</sup>*ištār* *adi* <sup>a</sup>*bīt*<sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup>NIN-*é-a*[*n-na šá kišād pal-gi* . . . .
96. [*išt*]u *bāb* <sup>a</sup>*bīt*<sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup>NI[N-*é-a*]n-na *šá ki*[*šād*(GÚ) *pal-gi* . . . .
97. [6 *ālāni*<sup>meš</sup> *ebirti*(BAL.R)I] *šit šamši* (<sup>a</sup>UTU <sup>a</sup>E<sup>a</sup>[.A)  
 98. [*ištu bīt*]t <sup>a</sup>*adad* *adi* *abul a-ku-ši-te nu-ḥar pir/par-ki šumšu*(MU.BÍ)  
 99. *ištu* *abul a-ku-ši/si-tum* *adi* É-NAM-ÚŠ *šá ÈŠ-MAḤ* *ina qer-bi-šú ib-ba-nu-ú* ḤA.A  
*šumšu*(MU.BÍ)  
 100. *ištu* *abunnat*(LI.DUR) <sup>a</sup>*qašti* *šá bāb bīt bēlet-ni-ná-a a-di kišād nāri bāb* <sup>a</sup>*lugal-gír-ra*  
*šumšu*(MU.BÍ)  
 101. *ištu* *abul* <sup>a</sup>*šamši* *adi* *nāri tu-ba/bi šumšu*(MU.BÍ)  
 102. 4 *ālāni*<sup>meš</sup> *ebirti*(BAL.RI) *ereb šamši* (<sup>a</sup>UTU ŠÚ.A)  
 103. 10 *ālāni*<sup>meš</sup> *šá ta-mir-ta-šú-nu hé-gál-la*

- 73 D: ZI-tú *um-ma-ni-ia* ÛRU E: UN<sup>meš</sup>-šú 74 D: SUḤ]UŠ *um-ma-ni-ia* G[I.NA  
 E: ERÍN<sup>meš</sup>-šú 75 G: *liš-me-ka!* D in 2 lines, second line: *mi-e*[n 77 E:  
 om. KA 79 E: om. *ili* 80 D: *hu-du-ud*[ G: *hu-ud ma-a-šú*  
 F: *hu-ud m*[a 81 EG: om. E.SÍR E: *ta-at-su ka-ra-b*[i? G: *ta-a-šú*  
*ka-ra-KU?* 82 D: *i-šem-mi ana ru-*[ F: *i-šem* <sup>a</sup>*a-na*<sup>a</sup> [ E: *i-šem* [*a-n*]a *ru-ú-qa* G:  
*i-šem-ma ana ru-ú-qa su-la-a* <sup>a</sup>AMAR.UTU 83 E: 53 DG: 43 F: 23 D: *ma-ḥa-a*[z

73. Street: "Adad provider for his people": street of the [Adad] gate.  
 74. Street: "Šamaš protection of his people": street of the Šamaš gate.  
 75. Street: "Pray and he shall hear you": . . . .<sup>6</sup>  
 76/77. Street: "Street of Damiq-ilišu". Street: "Cross-roads".  
 78/79. Street: "Street of the Seven-gods (Pleiades)". Street: "Street of the Gemini."  
 80/81. Street: "Make glad his country!" Street: "Blessing is his tribute(?)".  
 82. Street: "He listens to the distant one:" street of Marduk.  
 83. Total: [43?]<sup>7</sup> temples of the Great Gods in Babylon;  
 84. 55 chapels of Marduk;  
 85. 2 city walls, 3 rivers, 8 gates, 24 streets of Babylon;  
 86. 300 chapels of the Igigi and 600 chapels of the A[nunnaki];  
 87. 180 open-air shrines of Ištar; 180 "stations" of Lugalgirra and Meslamtaea;  
 88. 12 "stations" of The Seven (Pleiades); 6 "stations" of The Tails (Pisces);  
 89. 2 "stations" of . . . .<sup>8</sup>; 2 "stations" of . . . . and Babylon . . . .
90. The (topographical) features of Babylon [. . . .]  
 91. Eridu (is the part) in which Esagil [is built].  
 92. From the Market Gate to the Sublime Gate, [its name is] Tê(?).  
 93. From the Market Gate to the Uraš Gate, [its name is] Dintir.  
 94. From the Sublime Gate to the Ištar Gate, [its name is] B[ābili].  
 95. From the Ištar Gate to the temple of Bēlet-Eanna [on the bank of the canal, its name is . . . . .]  
 96. [From] the gate of the temple of Bēlet-Eanna on the bank [of the canal to . . . . , its name is . . . . .]  
 97. [Six districts of] the east bank.  
 98. [From the] temple of Adad to the Akuš Gate, its name is "False Ziggurat(?)."  
 99. From the Akuš Gate to the mortuary temple, (the area) in which the Ešmaḥ temple is built, its name is Kumar.  
 100. From the "middle of the bow" of the gate of the temple of Bēlet-Ninâ to the bank of the river, its name is Lugalgirra Gate.  
 101. From the Šamaš Gate to the river, its name is Tuba/Tubi.  
 102. Four districts of the west bank.  
 103. Ten districts, whose surrounding fields are fertile.

E: *m[a-a]ḥ-zi* G: *ma-ḥa-su* 83-86 DFG have different division of lines  
 85 G: *kir-ḥu!* D: KÁ.DINGIR.RA E: E<sup>k1</sup> 86 F: 300 <sup>a</sup>*i-gi-gi u* 600 <sup>a</sup>*a[-nun-na-ki* D: 600 <sup>a</sup>*a-nun-n[a-ki* at beginning of line G: <sup>a</sup>*<a>-nun-na-ki* 87:  
 G: *man-za-za* <sup>a</sup>*lugal-DINGIR!-ra* 89 G: <sup>r</sup>*4?* K1.GUB <sup>r</sup>*TIR*.AN.NA 2 K1.GUB  
 DINGIR RA! [. . .] <sup>r</sup>*u?* MURUB? URU? <sup>r</sup> [. . .] 98 Text from G 99 G: *a-ku-ši-*  
*tum* H: *a-ku-si-tum* G: *qé-re-bi-šú* 100 G: om. KÁ 101 G: *tu-bi* H: *tu-ba*

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps another street name.

<sup>7</sup> E: 53; F: 23. See notes on text.

<sup>8</sup> G apparently "the Rainbow".



*Notes on text*

1-6. Number of lines missing dictated by curvature of tablet and tenth-line mark. The tablet cannot possibly have extended a further ten lines.

13. Cf. passages cited in *CAD*, A/1, 203b.

18. Unger suggested *iš-di*, but the sign is not *iš*. Restoration conjectural.

19. For the reading of G see *CAD* s.v. *illatu* (*il-mad* is also possible).

20. [*i*]-*qu-lu* rather than [*li*]-*qu-lu*, for which there is insufficient space.

21. A word for "enemy" or the like seems to be required after *itbal*.

22. The sign following *e* was copied as *DI* by van der Meer, but this sign and *KI* are formed quite differently elsewhere on the tablet. The reading given is a *pis aller* but at least has the merit of making sense. Possibly the original had a damaged *e-pi-ir*.

23 ff. The omission of *BÁRA* in B, which has prevented this fragment from being recognized as part of *DIN.TIR*<sup>K1</sup>, is similar to the omission of *SILA* in D and H 62 ff.

25. *ub-saḥar-ra* (B, G) "dusty niche", *ub-sa-ha-ri* phonetic. Cf. *ub-líl-la*

28. For the god *Lūmur-dīnšu* see Lambert in *AfO* 19 (1960), 115.

35. Abba was one of the doorkeepers of Esagil (Unger, p. 259). On this god see É. Dhorme, *Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie* ("Mana" 1, 1945), 109 and 131.

48. The deity at the end could be *Ištar* or *Nergal*.

49. For the reading see Landsberger, *ZA* NF 7, 296.

50. See *CAD* z, 98a-b.

53. Unger read <sup>m</sup>*mukin*(G1) *šarrūti*(NAM.LUGAL)-*šú*, but the signs (on G) are clearly not *GI.NAM.LUGAL*.

54. See *CAD* B, 126a. [*KÁ.G*]AL LUGAL is clear on C.

55. In spite of *ERÍN.MEŠ*, *ummānu* appears to have no military connotation in this text; cf. ll. 12, 56, 70, 74 (with variants).

59-61. According to the summary only three rivers are required, so *hé-gál* at the end of 59 must be part of the well-known epithet of Arah tum (*CAD*, s.v. *ḥegallu*).

62. The two signs at the end of this line could be part of the name *išenme šē'ašū* in a variant form, or they may be the end of another street name. The latter is more probable, as more names are required to make up the total of 24. If so, it would be necessary to count 60/61 as one line in order to reach the correct number at line 70; 57/58 is marked as a double line by the divider.

64. The traces at the end can only be those of *ú*; though the name is usually written with *-um*, the form with *-ú* is attested in *VAB* IV, pp. 132 and 136.

66. On D the broken line before 67 begins the second half with *GISSU*. It is suggested that this tablet had line 66 on two lines. The sign before *GISSU* ends in a large vertical.

69. On the *giššū* gate see Unger, p. 69 and *CAD* G, 108. There is no actual variant (as shown by Unger and the *CAD*) either here or in line 51.

72. Unger read <sup>a</sup>*NANNA* both here and in line 54, but *abul šarri* is clear in 54 (collated) and *abul* <sup>a</sup>[x] is certain here.

73-74. The readings of D merely repeat lines 55-56 and may be regarded as dittography.

75. The second half of this line must be corrupt, especially in view of the divergent text of D. Cf. Landsberger, *ZA* NF 7, 296. It is probably another street name, though there is no *SILA*.

76. *Damiq-ilišu*, third king of the Sea-land dynasty, was an enemy of Ammiditana. His namesake, last king of the first dynasty of Isin, had no connection with Babylon. Neither seems likely to have had a Babylonian street named after him. Possibly the reference is to another, unknown person of this name.

77. For *E.SÍR KA.LIMMÚ.BA* = *sūqi erbetti* cf. *CAD* s.v. *erbettu*, lexical section. But for this, one would be inclined to read *E.sír* as *sulī*, to distinguish it from *SILA*.

78. *DINGIR.DINGIR.MAŠ.TAB.BA* perhaps to be read *ilāni maš-tab-ba*; but elsewhere *ilāni* is always *DINGIR.MEŠ* in this text.

80/81. The reading in the text combines the *ḥu-ud* of two MSS. with the *da* preserved on A, but *ḥu-du-da* is also possible. Cf. Landsberger, loc. cit., who read *eribu* "locusts" here. *ḥuddā* is taken as D imper. 2 pl.

83. The MSS. give three different totals for the *māhāzi*; but Moran has shown that 43 is correct, as it tallies with the number of temples entered on the Kish tablet 1924-846 (*Iraq* 5 (1938), 58, 63-64).

84. There appear to be only 48 *parakkī*, yet both E and G give the total as 55. It is impossible to reconcile these figures since the lacuna at the beginning cannot be increased.

85. With the text as here given there are only 21 street names. To bring the total to 24 there would have to be not only a second name in 62, but *me-e ú-su* (75) and *su-ul-a ʿmarduk* (82) would also have to be taken as distinct streets. Yet the numbering of the lines shows that the scribe of this tablet did not so regard them.

89. The text of A, as far as preserved, differs again from G. In the second half of G Unger read *ʿIsinnu*, but the sign as copied is clearly RA. The line before 90 has to be taken as a run-over of 89, since 76/77, 78/79 and 80/81 are marked as double lines by the divider. Presumably the same is true of G 17, which Unger read [*lib-b*]a *qabal*(MURUB) *āli*(URU) and from which he deduced that *Qabal āli* was a name for the whole of the city within the walls (*apud* Wetzels, *WVDOG* 48, 84, and *RIA* I, 343, § 23). However the first sign looks more like MAŠKIM on the photograph, and the URU is very questionable.

91. Restoration from 99.

92. T[*E*?*E*<sup>k1</sup>]. The sign could be a rather slanting URU, but little else. If it is URU, one could read *eri-[dū]* again, or URU.[*BÍL*], on which see below.

93. DIN.[*TIR*<sup>k1</sup>]. No other restoration seems possible.

94. K[*A*.DINGIR.RA<sup>k1</sup>]. The traces of the first sign could in themselves be read in several ways, but if a quarter of the city beside TE.E and DIN.TIR is required, there is no other possible reading.

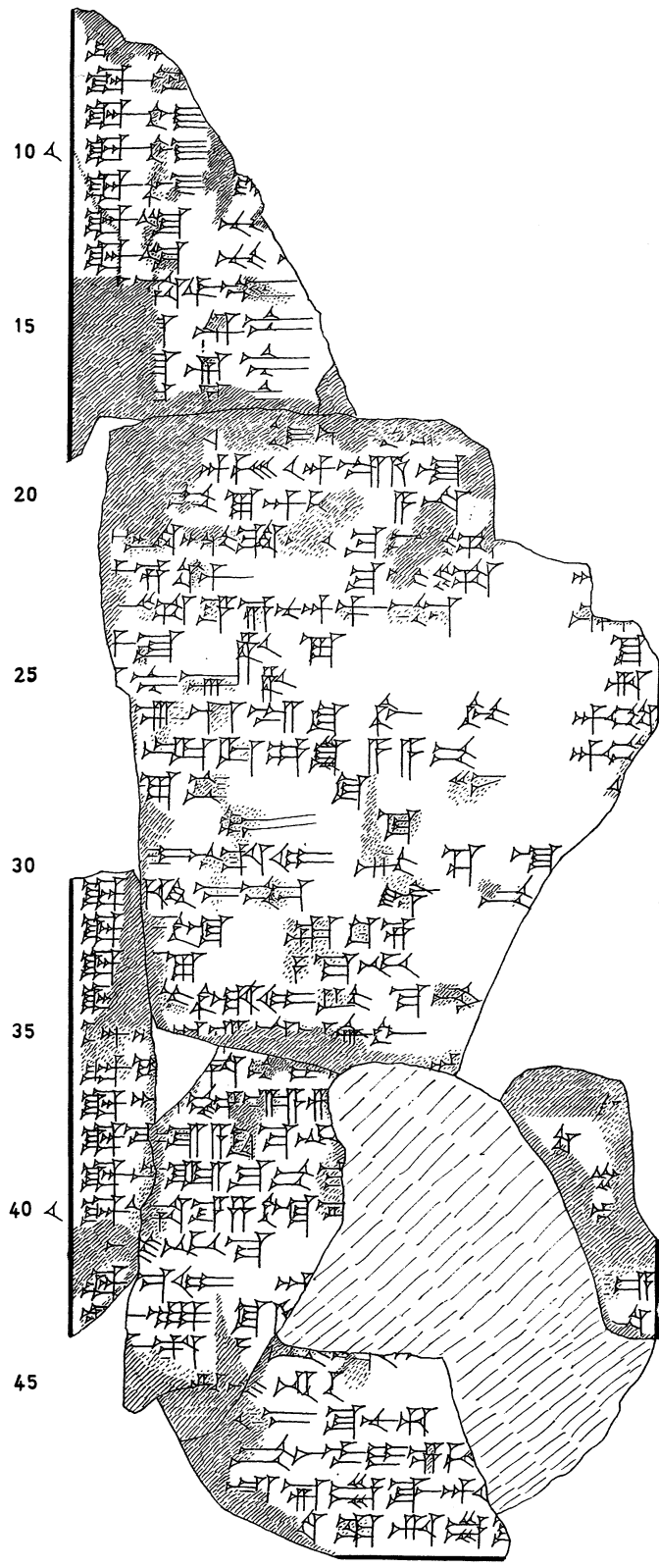
97. Unger reconstructed this line—surely correctly—out of the first signs preserved in G col. IV by deduction from lines 102-103 (*apud* Wetzels, *op. cit.*, 92). He took all ten *ālāni* to be suburbs outside the walls (*Vororte*), regarding *eršetu* as the special word for the quarters of the city itself (as it normally is in documents). But the six districts actually preserved on A are clearly quarters of the city, and the curvature of the tablet is such that not more than six lines can be restored at the end, matching the six lines missing at the beginning of the obverse. These then must be the six *ālāni* of line 97, and presumably therefore the four *ālāni* of line 102 are similarly quarters of Babylon West. Indeed one of them, Tuba, is already known as a quarter and Unger was obliged to posit both a suburb and a quarter of the same name (*RIA* I, 344). The six *ālāni* will have immediately preceded line 97 on G; but in A the traces of the line following 96 are difficult to reconcile with line 97 and would rather suggest É AN, i.e. *bīt ʿAdad* of line 98. If so, it would seem that l. 97 was omitted in A, and probably also l. 102.

98. On the Akūš Gate, another name for the Adad Gate, see Unger, *Babylon*, 68, and J. J. Finkelstein, *JCS* 9 (1955), 3, n. 29. The *nuḥar* could be either the zigurrat or the temple at its summit (F. H. Weissbach, *ZA* NF 7 (1933), 285-6). Landsberger, *loc. cit.*, read *nu-ḥar pīr-ki* "der falsche Stufenturm".

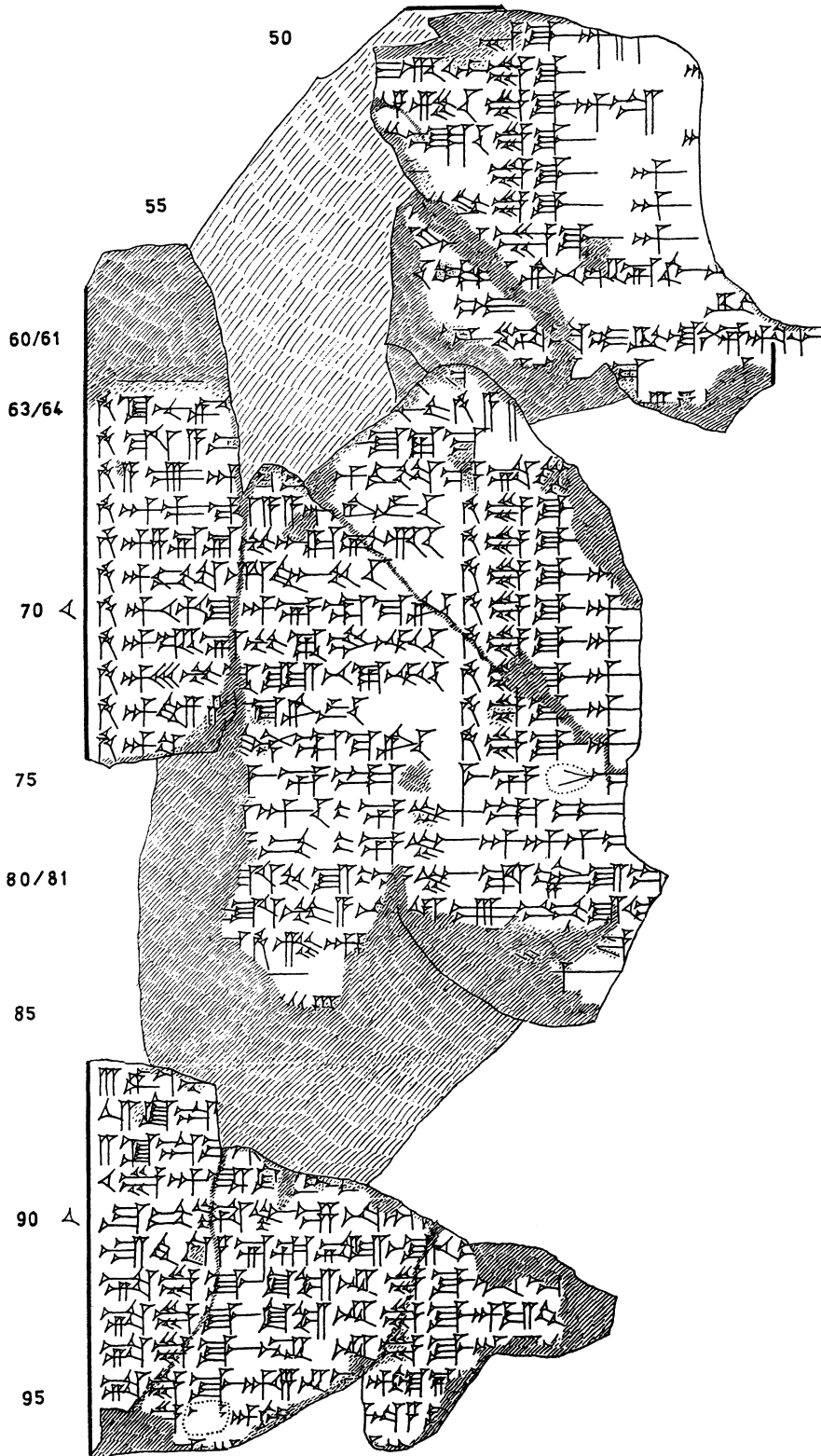
99. Translated by Unger "The (part) of the tent: its name is 'Within it ruin is born'." The translation in *CAD* B, 90b is similar, but gives no translation for 𒄩A.A. The translation here given follows Landsberger, *loc. cit.* for the syntax but assumes that 𒄩A.A. is for 𒄩A.A<sup>k1</sup>, on which see T. Jacobsen, *AS* 11, 88, n. 126; and A. W. Sjöberg, *TCS* III, 81. The difficulty is that A.𒄩A (= 𒄩A.A)<sup>k1</sup> as a part of Babylon is elsewhere glossed as *Tu-ba* (*CT* 25, 14, 30), which appears as a distinct district two lines below. For this reason, no doubt, neither I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, 95, nor J. J. Finkelstein, *JCS* 17 (1963), 46 n. 22, took this line into account when referring to A.𒄩A/𒄩A.A as a part of Babylon. However, the gloss is aberrant. I am indebted to Lambert for drawing my attention to *CT* 51 no. 105, 21-22, where we have [umun] 𒄩A<sup>k1</sup> = [*be*]-*lum ku-mar*. In other words, this is none other than Kumaru/i, the well-known quarter of the western city (Unger, *Babylon*, 80 etc.), which is to be expected here; and Jacobsen was right in his supposition that the original Kuara—a town near Eridu sacred to Asarluhi—developed through Kuwara to Kumari. The gloss *Tu-ba* remains unexplained; were two neighbouring quarters perhaps later amalgamated?

100. Translation follows *CAD* A, 90a.

PLATE V

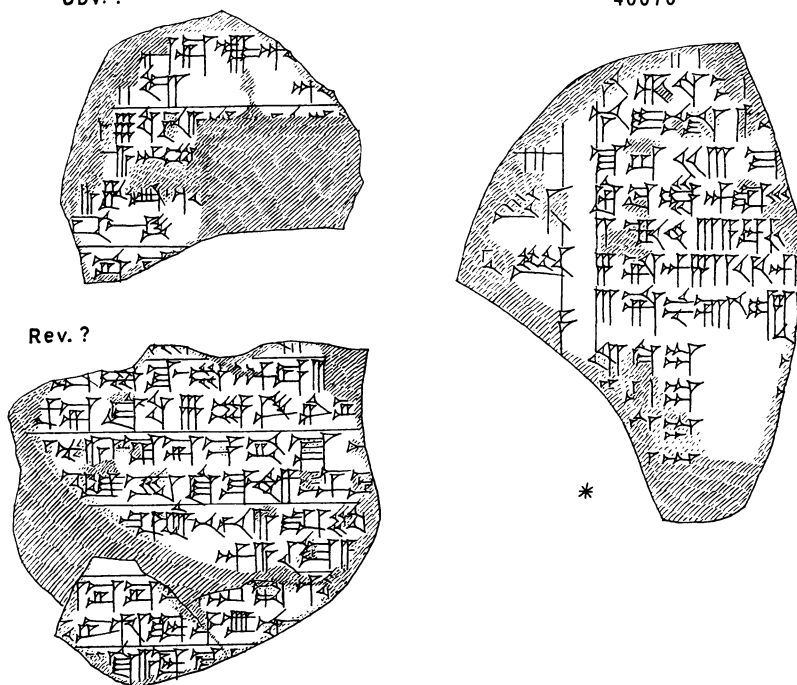
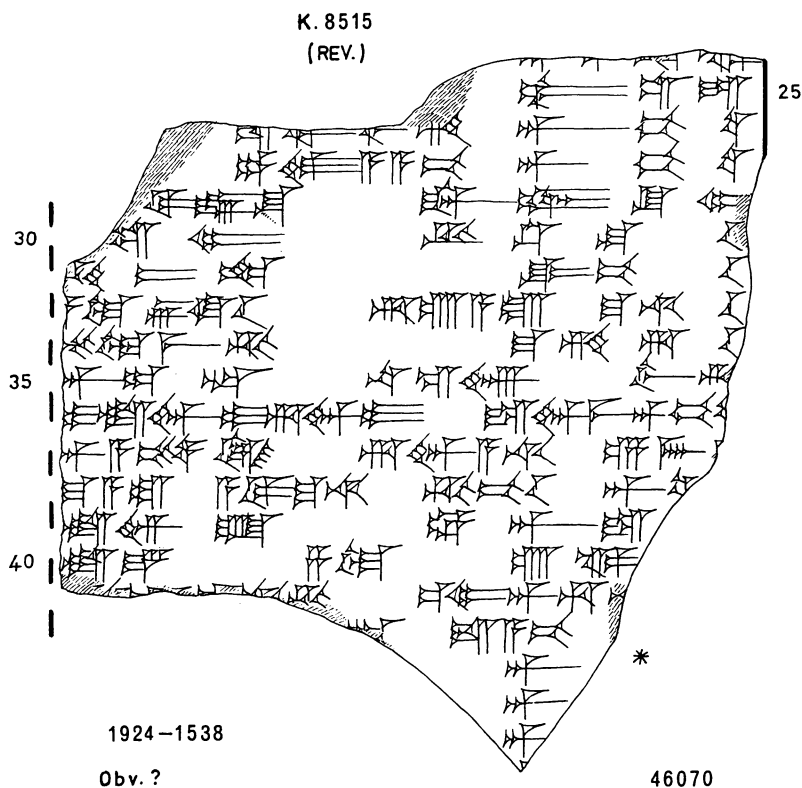


Ashmolean 1924—807+1415+1501+1830+2044+2057. Obverse.



Ashmolean 1924—807 + 1415 + 1501 + 1830 + 2044 + 2057. Reverse.

PLATE VII



K.8515, 46070, and Ashmolean 1924-1538.

*The Topography*

Thanks to this tablet, we now have a more or less continuous text of the last tablet of DIN.TIR<sup>k1</sup> incorporating Unger's disconnected sections E, G, H and I, but omitting F. As mentioned above, the latter must be presumed to be part of an earlier tablet.

The long list of *parakki*, which Landsberger (loc. cit.) thought would provide information on the location of shrines in Esagil, yields in fact nothing whatever for topography. The gates, walls and rivers were already known, and the new names of streets (lines 65 and 66) are so fragmentary that nothing can be learned from them. The summary is largely missing and was in any case well preserved before. Thus the gain for topography is limited to the sections on the districts of the city, lines 90-96.

The most important single line is 91, from which we learn that the quarter of the city containing the temple Esagil was called Eridu. Unger tentatively assigned to this quarter the name Tintir, on inconclusive evidence.<sup>10</sup> Eridu has long been known as one of the *names* of Babylon.<sup>11</sup> That it was also a quarter of the city has escaped notice only through a series of misreadings; for the correct reading of the end of K. 3089 obv. 9 (Unger, p. 230) and its duplicate Ashm. 1924-846 obv. 14 (*Iraq* 5, 58) is neither *āli*<sup>k1</sup> (Unger) nor *ba(-bi-li)* (van der Meer), but NUN<sup>k1</sup> (= Eridu). We may presumably infer that all the temples mentioned, from Esagil in line 1 to the temple of Anunnitum (sic) in line 14, were in this district. Thus "Eridu" replaces Unger's *libbi āli* "Binnenstadt" as the name of the city centre.

The information to be gleaned from lines 92-96 is limited by the breaks at the ends of the lines where the names of the districts stood and by the fact that of the points of reference defining them only one, the Iṣtar Gate, has actually been identified on the ground by an inscription, though four gates were excavated. However, Unger's arguments for the location of the other seven gates have never been seriously challenged, and he and Weissbach agree in identifying the Uraš Gate, which is mentioned here, with the gate at the western end of the south wall near the river, opposite to the Iṣtar Gate in the north.<sup>12</sup> These two fixed points enable us at least to place DIN.TIR<sup>k1</sup> generally in the south of the city (line 93) and Bābili (if correctly read—line 94) in the north. Bābili must in any case be placed in this area on account of the excavated temples of Ninmah and Iṣtar of Agade which are said to have been there (Fig. 1, nos. 14, 15). More precise locations depend on the identifications of the *abullu šīru* "Sublime Porte" (KÁ.GAL.MAḤ) and the *abul maḥīri* "Market Gate" (KÁ.GAL KÍ.LAM). If these were indeed city-gates, as the word *abullu* implies,<sup>13</sup> they must be alternative names for two of the other four gates in the walls of Babylon East, for there were no others. In effect lines 92-94 divide this circuit into three parts:

<sup>9</sup> Another name for the Adad Gate which led to the town of this name.

<sup>10</sup> *Babylon*, 82-3, and Abb. 64 (plan at end).

<sup>11</sup> E.g. Pinches in *PSBA* 33 (1911), 161; Unger, *Babylon*, 25 n. 1. It is among the names of Babylon in the first tablet of DIN.TIR<sup>k1</sup> (van der Meer, *Iraq* 5, 60, line 21).

<sup>12</sup> Unger, *Babylon*, 73; Weissbach, *ZA* NF 7, 264. Here no. 10 in Fig. 1.

<sup>13</sup> *CAD* s.v. *abullu* (only 5 passages—2 from Boğazköy—are quoted for the meaning "gate of a building"); Unger, *Babylon* 65, and *RIA* I, 339b.

Uraš Gate		Market Gate		Sublime Gate		Ištar Gate
	DIN.TIR		TE-E(?)		Bābili	

If the Market Gate were the gate of Zababa and the Sublime Gate the Gate of Sin, the districts TE-E and Bābili would be roughly where they were placed by Unger on other grounds. No information can be gained from the reference to the *abul maḥiri* in King, *Chronicles*, 71 line 13. The *bāb maḥiri* mentioned in Nbn. 238:2 and 239:2 (*CAD* B, 22a) could be the same gate; but the *bābu širu* cannot be identified with the *abullu širu*, as it was not a city gate but one of the gates of Esagil.<sup>14</sup>

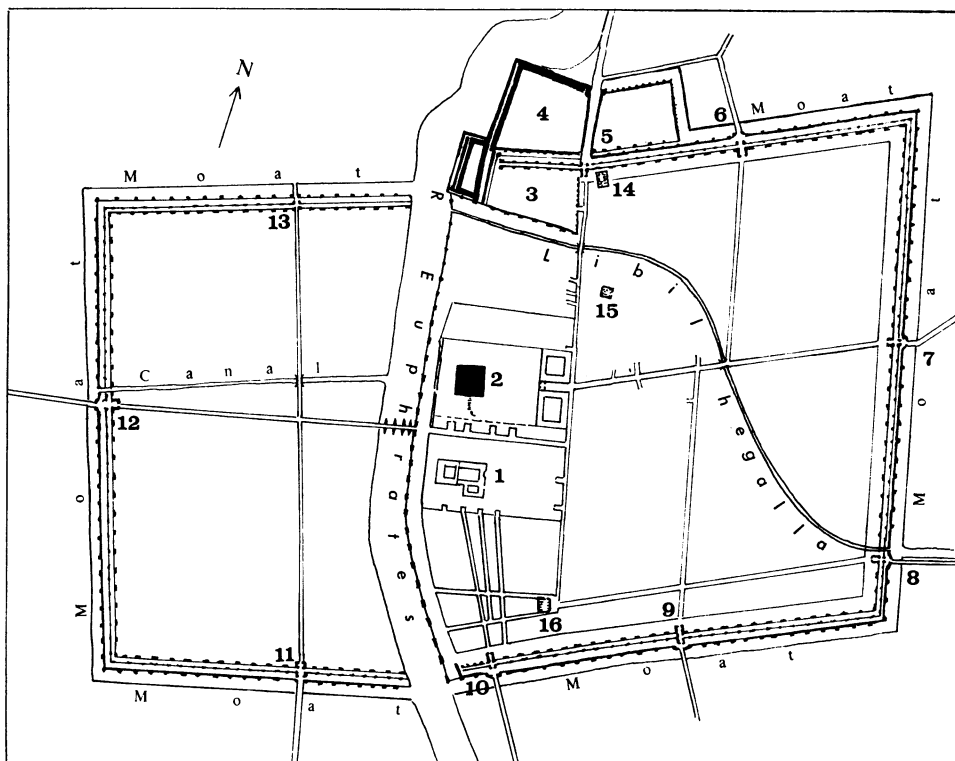


Fig. 1. Plan of the city of Babylon, after E. Unger, *Babylon*, Fig. 64.

- |                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1. Esagil.                     | 10. Uraš Gate (excavated).                           |
| 2. Etemenanki.                 | 11. Šamaš Gate (not excavated).                      |
| 3. Southern Citadel.           | 12. Adad Gate (not excavated).                       |
| 4. Principal Citadel.          | 13. Lugalgirra Gate (not excavated).                 |
| 5. Ištar Gate (excavated).     | 14. Temple of Ninmah (excavated). In Bābili.         |
| 6. Sin Gate (not excavated).   | 15. Temple of Ištar of Agade (excavated). In Bābili. |
| 7. Marduk Gate (excavated).    | 16. Temple of Ninurta (excavated). In Šuanna.        |
| 8. Zababa Gate (excavated).    |  |
| 9. Enlil Gate (not excavated). |  |

<sup>14</sup> Placed by Weissbach on the north front of the "Eastern Annexe" of the temple (*ZA* NF 7, 259; *WVDOG* 59, 64-65). A gate in this position could

hardly have served as a point of reference for a district.

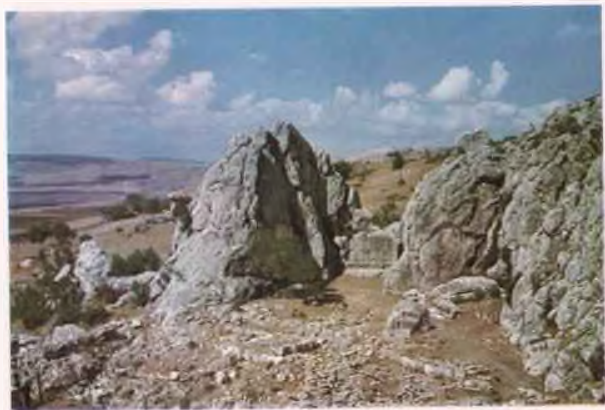
Lines 95–96 are of special interest. The reading <sup>4</sup>NIN-*e-an-na* in both lines seems reasonably certain in spite of breaks in the tablet, and the last preserved traces of line 96 seem to be those of GÚ (= *kišādu* "bank"). There was indeed a temple of Bēlet-Eanna *šá kišād palgi* "on the bank of the canal"; its name was *É-ki-tuš-ka-zal*, and in one contract the canal in question is given as *palgi šá āli ešši* ("New Town Canal").<sup>15</sup> That this temple was in "New Town" is confirmed by K. 3089 obv. 17–18 (Unger, p. 231), where a temple of Bēlet-Eanna and another temple are said to be *lib-ba āli ešši*<sup>16</sup> (the signs are badly broken, but I believe the reading to be correct); the name of the temple of Bēlet-Eanna appears on the Kish tablet obv. 22 as [*É-k*]-*tuš!-ka!-zal-la*. Now for Unger New Town was the name of Babylon West. He appears to have deduced this from K. 3089 obv. 18. Relying on the trace copied by Pinches before *lib-ba āli ešši*, he read [*É* <sup>4</sup>]*Adad*(v) and took this to be the temple of Adad, Enamhe, which is one of those listed as in Babylon West.<sup>16</sup> However, in fact no trace whatever survives on the tablet here and the argument is therefore baseless.<sup>17</sup> The Kish tablet is illegible in this line, but the temple Enamhe (miswritten *É-nam-MAH*—sic!), appears on the reverse, line 17, *lib-ba Ku-ma-ri*(?), as we should expect, followed by the other temple of Bēlet-Eanna, *É-ki-tuš-garza*, which is also listed as in Babylon West. That *É-ki-tuš-ka-zal(-la)*—and therefore the district New Town—were both in the eastern city is proved by the present text, which couples the temple with the Ištar Gate as points defining a district. Indeed *ālu eššu* could even be one of the missing quarters here. It has been suggested above that this might be a possible reading at the end of line 92 in place of TĒ.E; but in view of the references to the temple of Bēlet-Eanna it is more likely that it came in 95 or 96.

<sup>15</sup> Strassmaier, *Nbk.* no. 247, 12–13; the name also appears in *KAR* 109, obv. 21. Other references in *RIA* II, 321 (Ebeling).

<sup>16</sup> *CT* 37, 14, 43 (*apud* Unger, *Babylon*, 249).

<sup>17</sup> The two documents cited by Unger (p. 80) and by the *CAD* (s.v. *eššu*) give no indication of the location of the district, except for the reference to an otherwise unknown processional street.





View of Yazılıkaya

# SOME ASPECTS OF HITTITE RELIGION

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O. R. GURNEY, F.B.A.

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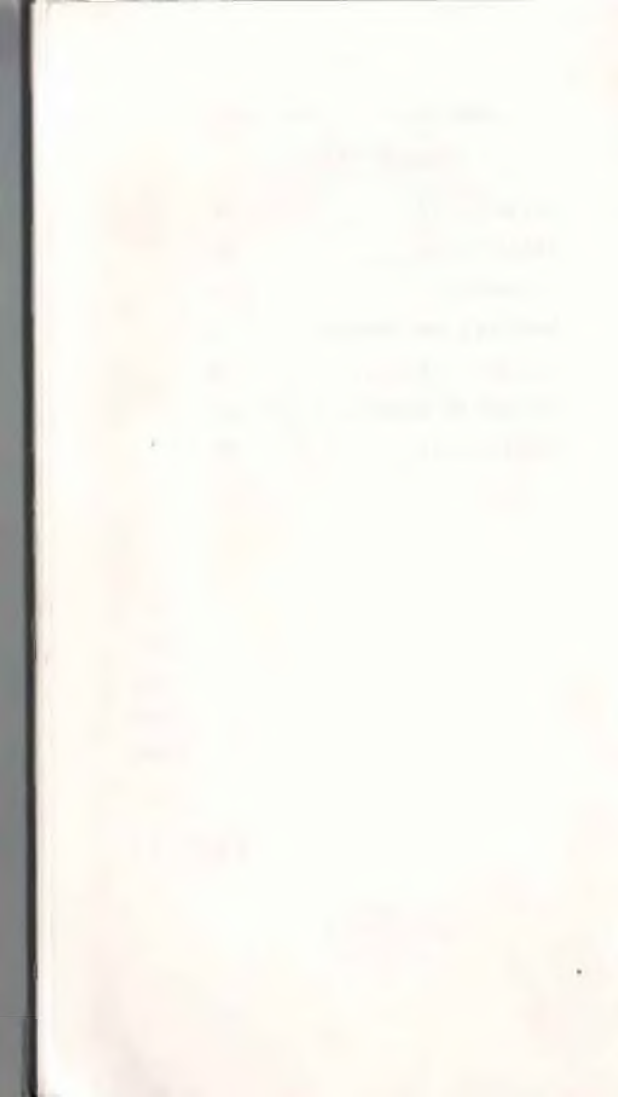
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*Frontispiece:* View of Yazilikaya.

- I a. Yazilikaya, Chamber A. The central group (Mrs. Gurney's photograph).
- I b. Yazilikaya, Chamber A. The line of gods (courtesy of Professor J. Garstang).
- II. Yazilikaya, relief in Chamber B. Tudhaliya IV in the protective embrace of his god Surruma (Mrs. Gurney's photograph).
- III. Relief from Alaca Huyuk. The king worshipping Teshub in the form of a bull (courtesy of the Museum of Anatolian Cultures, Ankara).
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- V. Relief from Carchemish showing musicians playing a horn and a large drum or gong (courtesy of the Museum of Anatolian Cultures, Ankara).
- VI. Relief from Carchemish showing musicians playing a lute and double pipes (courtesy of the Museum of Anatolian Cultures, Ankara).
- VII. Relief from Zincirli showing musicians playing two kinds of lyre and tambourines (courtesy of the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul).
- VIII. Relief from Karatepe showing musicians playing a lyre, double pipes and tambourines (?) (courtesy of Professor H. T. Bossert).

Fig. 1. Yazilikaya. The sculptures of Chamber A. (From J. Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, pl. XXIV. Reproduced from O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites*, Pelican 1954). pp. 20-1

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ABoT</i>	<i>Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri (Boğazköy-Tafeln im Archäologischen Museum zu Ankara).</i> Istanbul, 1948.
<i>Afo</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung.</i>
<i>ANET</i>	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts</i> , ed. J. B. Pritchard, 3rd edn., Princeton, 1969.
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis.</i>
<i>CAD</i>	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.</i>
<i>CTH</i>	E. Laroche, <i>Catalogue des textes hittites.</i> Paris, 1971.
<i>HWb</i>	J. Friedrich, <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch.</i> Heidelberg, 1952.
<i>IBoT</i>	<i>Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri (Boğazköy-Tafeln im Archäologischen Museum zu Istanbul):</i> I, 1944; II, 1947; III, 1954.
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature.</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies.</i>
<i>JKF</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung.</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies.</i>
<i>KBo</i>	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi,</i> Leipzig/Berlin, 1916- .
<i>KUB</i>	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi.</i> Berlin, 1921- .
<i>MDOG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.</i>
<i>MIO</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung.</i>
<i>MVAG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft.</i>
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.</i>
<i>RHA</i>	<i>Revue Hittite et Asianique.</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.</i>
<i>RIA</i>	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie.</i> Berlin, 1928- .
<i>SMEA</i>	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-anatolici.</i>
<i>SPAW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.</i>
<i>StBoT</i>	<i>Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten.</i> Wiesbaden, 1965- .
<i>VBoT</i>	A. Goetze, <i>Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte.</i> Marburg, 1930.
<i>WVDOG</i>	<i>Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.</i>
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</i>

## INTRODUCTION

IN choosing subjects for these lectures I have had in mind the wishes of the founder, that they should have some reference to biblical studies. Historically the kingdom of Hattusa had little direct impact on the Hebrews of the Old Testament, since the Hittite Empire never extended south of Damascus. The possible connection between the Hittite treaties and the form of the Hebrew Covenant suggested itself, but this subject has been fully investigated, with a largely negative result.<sup>1</sup> The institutions of the Hittites, being partly of Indo-European, partly of Anatolian origin, again differ widely from those of the Hebrews. Such connections as have been established between the Hittites and the Hebrews belong in fact largely to the field of religion.<sup>2</sup>

Hittite religion in general has been well treated by several eminent authorities.<sup>3</sup> It has two distinct aspects: the local cults, each with its own traditions, and the State religion of the king, based on the capital, Hattusa. The local cults must go back into prehistoric times, with little change over the centuries. They fit easily into the pattern established by Robertson Smith for such popular cults nearly a century ago. The deity was the protector of the community, granting well-being and prosperity in return for daily service and attention. At the national level the king took over these services as supreme High Priest of the realm, and the texts of the royal library reveal how conscientiously the kings of the later Empire discharged their duties on behalf of the nation. They also reveal, in a series of remarkable prayers, a significant advance in theology.<sup>4</sup> In primitive religion the god was the god of the community. Should a member of the community commit an offence which aroused the god's anger, his whole family, even the whole community and future generations, could expect to suffer for it, with the result that punishment might fall on individuals who were themselves guiltless. But the Hittites saw their relationship to their god as that of a servant

<sup>1</sup> Mendenhall, 1954; Baltzer, 1960; especially McCarthy, 1963.

<sup>2</sup> They have been assembled by Hoffner, 1973, summarizing his earlier articles of 1967a, 1968 a-b, and 1969.

<sup>3</sup> Goetze, 1933a; Furlani, 1936; Dussaud, 1945; Laroche, 1946/7 (on the pantheon); Güterbock, 1949 and 1964; Otten, 1961a and 1964a; Kümmel, 1973a.

<sup>4</sup> Furlani, 1934, 1935, 1936; Houwink ten Cate, 1967, 1969. Furlani's penetrating analysis of the prayers in 1934 has been unjustly neglected.



to his master or as that of a subject to his king.<sup>1</sup> This was a relationship of individuals, and for the kings in their judicial capacity it was axiomatic that to punish a citizen for a crime he had not committed was a gross injustice. It was also usual for a master or for the king, when sitting in judgement, to treat an offender more leniently if he confessed his fault. The royal prayers are properly pleas of confession and self-defence (Hittite *arkuwar*) before the tribunal of the god;<sup>2</sup> but conflicting with this concept of the god as a just and humane judge there still survives the older religious view of a 'jealous god visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children'.<sup>3</sup> In the prayers of Mursili II on the occasion of the pestilence which was ravaging the country, a constant theme is that punishment is being inflicted for offences that were committed in a previous generation, that the culprits themselves are dead and gone and it is unjust to penalize the living.<sup>4</sup> But in a remarkable passage in his last prayer the king humbly confesses that he shares his father's guilt:<sup>5</sup>

O Weather-god of Hatti, my lord, O gods, my lords, it is true, man is sinful. My fathers sinned and transgressed against the word of the Weather-god of Hatti, my lord. I have not sinned in any respect. It is true, however, that the father's sin falls upon the son. So my father's sin has fallen upon me. Now I have confessed before the Weather-god of Hatti and before the gods, my lords, (saying): 'It is true, we have done it.' And because I have confessed my father's sin, let the soul of the Weather-god of Hatti, my lord, and those of the gods, my lords, be appeased.

These matters, however, are not new. The prayers have been translated many times and have long since been exploited for the important contribution they have made to the history of religion. I have attempted in these lectures to select aspects of Hittite religion in which there have been recent and less well-known developments. In the second and third lectures I have discussed, among other things, two matters where a connection with the Old Testament seems well established: the *maššēbā* as a cult object, and the scapegoat ritual, together with other rites related to them. But one can hardly speak about a religion without giving some account of its gods, and in the first lecture I have tried to describe the pantheon of the Hittites, not, as has

<sup>1</sup> Furlani, 1935, 1938, based principally on the text 'Instructions for Temple Officials', CTH 264 (ANET 207-10).

<sup>2</sup> Laroche, 1964/5, 13-20. Houwink ten Cate, 1967, 101; 1969, 82 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. 20: 5.

<sup>4</sup> Goetze, 1930; CTH 378 (ANET 994 ff.). Also Gurney, 1940 (CTH 376-7).

<sup>5</sup> On the development of Mursili's thought in successive prayers see Güterbock, 1960b, 61-2; Houwink ten Cate, 1969, 97-8.

usually been done, in its fully developed form as seen in texts of the later Empire, but diachronically in its historical development.

I should like here to express my thanks and appreciation to the British Academy for the honour they have conferred on me in inviting me to deliver these lectures. I only regret that I have not succeeded in finding a more closely integrated theme.

# I

## THE PANTHEON

EVERY writer on Hittite religion has remarked that the Hittite texts contain an enormous number of divine names, many of which are still no more than names to us. In speaking of the pantheon we are thinking primarily of the State religion, the gods and goddesses recognized and venerated in the capital and served by the official priesthood. This pantheon developed from simple beginnings into a highly complex system through an increasing tendency to gather in the local cults. Its most typical expression is seen in the later treaty lists, the lists of deities regularly invoked as witnesses when treaties were sworn with vassal kings and foreign powers and often summarized as 'the thousand gods of Hatti'.<sup>1</sup> It was these lists that formed the basis of Goetze's outline of the Hittite pantheon in his *Kulturgeschichte* of 1933,<sup>2</sup> and we may therefore take them as a starting point.

The order of the deities is fixed and only variable in minor details, from the treaty made by Suppiluliuma I with Hukkana of Hayasa down to the end of the Empire. At the head stood a male and a female Sun deity: the Sun-god of Heaven, King of the Lands, shepherd of mankind, and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, Queen of the Lands. Then comes a long list of Weather-gods, designated either by epithets or by cult-centres, among which Hattusa itself, Nerik, Zippalanda, Halap (Aleppo), and Arinna take a leading place. In some treaties the Weather-god's attendants, the bulls Seri and Hurri, the mountains Namni and Hazzi, are included here.<sup>3</sup> The next type is denoted by the logogram KAL, about which we shall have more to say. The gods Zithariya, Karzi, and Hapantaliya are attached to this group.

At this point the lists usually insert the Babylonian names Allatum (the Queen of the Underworld), Ea (the god of the sweet waters), and his wife Damkina;<sup>4</sup> one treaty also adds the name of Marduk.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Weidner, 1923; Friedrich, 1926/1930; Kühne-Otten, 1972.

<sup>2</sup> Goetze, 1933a, 122-3; 1957, 130-1.

<sup>3</sup> Only in Sattiwaza (Weidner, nos. 1-2) and Alaksandus (Friedrich, no. 5). On these deities see Haas and Röllig, 1975; on the name Sattiwaza, Zaccagnini, 1974.

<sup>4</sup> Damkina only in Sattiwaza (Weidner, nos. 1-2), following Ea. Allatum always precedes Ea (except in Tette, Weidner, no. 3) and is not a variant for Damkina, as seems to be implied

[Note 4 continued and note 5 opposite

The god Telipinu follows, with his cult-centres Tawiniya, Turmitta, and Hanhana, then in many treaties the pair Pirwa and Askasepa, followed by the goddess Ishtar, with her attendants Ninatta and Kulitta; the Moon-god and the goddess Ishhara, both special protectors of the oath, and the God of War in the guise of the logogram ZABABA, with whom are grouped Yarri, Zappana, and once Hasameli.<sup>1</sup>

Next come a group of local deities, each belonging to a particular cult-centre: Hantidassu (a title, 'the most powerful'<sup>2</sup>), Aparu, Kattahha, 'the Queen',<sup>3</sup> Ammamma, Hallara, Huwasana,<sup>4</sup> BELAT 'the lady',<sup>5</sup> and Kunniyawanni. The gods of the foreign mercenaries, Lulahhi and Hapiri, are added here.

There follows a group of deities of the Nether World. At their head stands their queen, designated sometimes by the Sumerian name Erishkigal, sometimes as 'Sun-goddess of the Earth', i.e. the Underworld—this regardless of the fact that Allatum, who occurs earlier in the list, is essentially the same goddess.<sup>6</sup> And after her come a constantly recurring group called 'the Primeval Gods', namely Nara, Napsara, Minki, Ammunki, Tuhusi, Ammiradu, with whom are closely associated the Sumerian deities Alalu, Anu, Antu, Enlil, and Ninlil, and (in one treaty only) Belat-ekalli.<sup>7</sup>

The list ends with the mountains, rivers, springs, the Great Sea, heaven and earth, winds and clouds. All are nameless except in two treaties, one of which names two mountains, Hulla

by Goetze (1957, 130); the name is here an Akkadogram for the Hattian Lelwani, as shown by Otten, 1950, 119. On this deity see below, pp. 12, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Hukkanas (Friedrich, no. 6); probably representing Sanda (see below, pp. 29-30).

<sup>3</sup> Only in Sattiwaza.

<sup>4</sup> Laroche, 1946/7, 73.

<sup>5</sup> Although *kattah* is Hattic for 'queen', Kattahha and 'the Queen'—the latter usually written logographically—are goddesses of different cities, Ankuwa and Katapa respectively. In later texts the name Kattahha developed into Hatagga, the meaning having evidently been lost (Kühne and Otten, 1971, 49 f.). According to Goetze, 1953, 265, there was yet another goddess called 'Queen', namely Kattahsipuri, on whom see below, p. 13. The name of the goddess of Katapa appears once as *Ha-*...; Laroche, 1946/7, 104, suggests the reading *Hannasra*.

<sup>6</sup> On this deity see Güterbock, 1962; Goetze, 1953, 93; Franta-Szabó, 1975.

<sup>7</sup> The goddess of Landa is always so written. The name concealed by the Akkadogram might be Hurrian Allani, which has the same meaning; but the other deity of Landa, Kunniyawanni, has a Luwian name. Cf. Burde, 1974, 13.

<sup>8</sup> In some treaties Erishkigal is separated from the following group by the summary 'Male and female gods of . . .'; but she certainly belongs with them, as in the two treaties with Sattiwaza and in the treaty with Manapa-Tarhunta (Friedrich, 1930, 16) where she is regulated by the 'Sun-goddess of the Underworld' (here = Hurrian Allani, see Laroche, 1946). In the earlier position this same title appears in the Hukkana treaty with ALLATUM representing the Hattian goddess Lelwani (see p. 4 n. 4, and p. 16).

<sup>9</sup> The wife of Ninurta, assimilated into the Hurrian pantheon as Pentikalli (Goetze, 1940; Laroche, 1968, 329).

and Zaliyanu,<sup>1</sup> and the other (with Mitanni) the rivers Tigris and Euphrates.<sup>2</sup>

These lists are supplemented by the prayer of Muwatalli,<sup>3</sup> which enumerates the pantheon in order of cult centres. Additional items contributed by this text are as follows.

The pantheon of Arinna includes, beside the Sun-god, Sun-goddess, and Weather-god, the goddesses Mezulla and Zintuhi and Mount Hulla.

Hattusa itself has a pantheon, which includes, beside the Weather-god and the god KAL of Hatti, the goddess Hebat, the Babylonian pair Ea and Damkina, the deified throne Halmasuitta, Allatum, Ishtar of Nineveh, the Lulahhi gods, the goddess Kubaba, also Pirwa, Askasepa, Karzi, and Hapantalli.

The god Zithariya is located at a city Zithara.

Telipinu appears not only at Tawiniya, Turmitta, and Hanhana, but also with the goddess Zashapuna and with Mt. Zaliyanu as deities of Kastama, a place closely linked with the holy city Nerik.

The goddess designated by the logogram MAH is listed under a city Sahhaniya and a goddess Tasimi under Lihzina.

A number of lesser deities are also mentioned.

Both the treaty lists and the prayer present virtually the complete Hittite pantheon, but the treaty lists are manifestly a compilation made for this particular purpose. The Sun-god stands at the head of the list as god of justice. He is almost a replica of the Akkadian Shamash. However, the gods who help the king in battle, for example, do not include the Sun-god. Here we find countless times at the head of the list the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the Weather-god of Hatti. It is the Weather-god, not the Sun-god, who is represented as concluding the treaty with the Egyptian Sun-god on behalf of the Hittite State and he was regarded as the husband of the Sun-goddess of Arinna. Thus even at the height of the Hittite Empire there was no single unitary hierarchy of gods. The priests in their service to the king evidently undertook to reduce the proliferation of local cults to a coherent system, but the system they constructed does not give a true picture. Many deities who had a significant place in Hittite religion and appear in the prayer are unaccountably omitted from the treaties, among them

<sup>1</sup> Alaksandus (Friedrich, no. 5). On these mountains see Gonnet, 1968, 123, 144.

<sup>2</sup> Sattiwaza (Weidner, nos. 1-2). Doubtless 'local colour'.

<sup>3</sup> CTH 381.



Mezulla, Halmasuit, the Mother-goddess MAH and the young god Sarruma. Now, though the systematized treaty-list varies little from the reign of Suppiluliuma to the end of the Empire, its beginnings can be seen in the fragmentary treaty of Arnuwanda I, a predecessor of Suppiluliuma, with the Kaska folk.<sup>1</sup> Here we find only the Sun-god of Heaven, the Weather-god, the gods KAL and ZABABA, the goddesses whose names appear in the guise of Ishtar and Ishhara, and the group of Primeval gods. Here all local deities are omitted, even the Sun-goddess of Ariana. They are simply the great types, with the addition of Ishhara and the Primeval Gods, but omitting Kubaba and Halmasuit, the deified throne. This short list is surely significant. The concept of the 'Thousand Gods of Hatti' had not yet developed. We may now attempt to trace the official pantheon back to its origins.

The Hittite population was the product of the mixture of an indigenous stock, speaking a mainly prefixing language which we call Hattic, with invading groups of Indo-Europeans. The advent of these Indo-Europeans lies before the threshold of history and it has so far proved impossible to identify their arrival with the appearance of any particular archaeological culture. However, a recently translated text may possibly throw a glimmer of light on that distant time. This is the Legend of Zalpa, which was first published by Emil Forrer in 1926 but was augmented in 1970 by the discovery of a new fragment.<sup>2</sup>

According to this tale, the queen of Kanesh gave birth to thirty sons. Apparently in dismay at this portent she placed them in a box of some sort (one is reminded of the legend of Sargon of Akkad) and consigned the box to the river, where it drifted down to the sea and arrived at Zalpa. There the gods found it and raised the boys to manhood. Meanwhile, the queen of Kanesh had given birth to thirty daughters and decided to bring them up herself. The sons, on growing to manhood, set out from Zalpa to search for their mother. On arrival at Tamarmara they learnt that the queen of Kanesh had once given birth to thirty sons who had disappeared. Joyfully they exclaimed: 'What seek we further? We have found our mother.' On their arrival at Kanesh the queen failed to recognize them and gave them her thirty daughters, but the youngest warned his brothers against the incest they were about to commit. The

<sup>1</sup> CTH 139. The palaeography shows that this text must be a forerunner, not a condensed version, of the standard lists (Neu, 1968; Otten, 1974, etc.). Cf. Laroche, 1974, 177.

<sup>2</sup> Now fully edited by Otten, 1973a.

text here breaks off, but the last words suggest that his warning went unheeded. Whether he himself refrained from the crime remains unknown. After a lacuna, we are back in Zalpa, where the Sun-god pronounces a blessing. The rest of the mutilated text consists of a long account of hostilities between Zalpa and Hattusa, with which we are not concerned. The text ends with the destruction of Zalpa.

In spite of the fairy-tale character of this story it could well contain a kernel of historical tradition. Kanesh, the centre of Assyrian commercial activity in the preceding centuries, appears at one time to have had a queen (*rubātum*),<sup>1</sup> though the place was captured by Anitta from a king. Other Old Hittite texts refer to Zalpa as being by the sea (there was another place of the same name on the Euphrates). The journey of the brothers from Zalpa on the Black Sea to Kanesh and their marriage to the daughters of the queen may well be a reminiscence of an immigration from the north, as suggested by the editor, H. Otten. They would not then, of course, have been the queen's sons, but Mrs. S. R. Bin-Nun has proposed to see in this feature of the legend a memory of an ancient Anatolian custom of brother-sister marriage, which the Hittites themselves later abolished and regarded with strong disapproval.<sup>2</sup> Hence the attitude of the youngest brother.

In this legendary text the only deity mentioned is the Sun, written <sup>4</sup>UTU-uš.<sup>3</sup>

Another early text is the fragmentary saga about the first passage through the Taurus.<sup>4</sup> Here the Sun deity, again in the form <sup>4</sup>UTU-uš, gives orders to the army, apparently substituting for the king himself. This form of the name would later certainly be taken as the name of the male Sun-god, Istanus; but Carruba has well suggested that here it is simply the early form of the late title <sup>4</sup>UTU-ŠI and actually denotes the king.<sup>5</sup> Another deity who appears in this saga, though in a broken context, is the goddess Inara of Hattusa. This deity is one of several who are later written with the logogram KAL and her appearance in this early legend is significant.<sup>6</sup> She is the local genius of

<sup>1</sup> Otten, 1973a, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Text B, obv. 4 (with the plain logogram in lines 3 and 5).

<sup>3</sup> CTH 16. Otten, 1963a; 1964b, 117 f.

<sup>4</sup> Carruba, 1969, 232 n. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Otten, 1954/6. The same logogram <sup>4</sup>KAL is also used for a totally different deity, the god on the stag, called by some 'Tutelary God' (*Schutzgott*), the logogram being read <sup>4</sup>LAMA. The reading of this god's Hittite name is disputed. Proposed readings: Kurunda (Houwink ten Cate, 1961, 128 ff.; Gordon, 1967, 71 n. 4), Tuwata (Laroche, 1954, 107 ff.), Uruwanda (Goetze, 1954b, 80; Carruba, 1968); in post-Hittite inscriptions the name appears as Runda, Ruwada, Rutia, (Greek) Ρωυδ(α). See Laroche, 1966, 289 ff., 295; 1960b,

<sup>6</sup> Bin-Nun, 1975, 146.

Hattusa, and when she is said elsewhere to have handed over her house to the king,<sup>1</sup> this could be an allusion to the first Hittite occupation of that city.

If these semi-mythical texts refer to events of the remote past, those described in the Proclamation of Anitta<sup>2</sup> are certainly later. Anitta, king of Nesa (Kanesh) and Kussara, is a historical character mentioned in contemporary documents. He captured Hattusa and declared the city accursed. In this factual document we meet not only the Sun and the Weather-god but also other deities of considerable interest: the Throne-goddess Halmasuit, and a god who is called simply Sius-summis, apparently 'Our God'. The Weather-god, written *ISKUR-unnaš*, functions as supreme patron of Anitta and his father and guarantor of the curse on Hattusa. Anitta builds temples at Kanesh for him and for 'Our God', whose statue at Kanesh had been carried off as plunder to Zalpa but recovered by Anitta. It is clear that 'Our God' was in a special way the god of Kanesh. His function is to deliver Hattusa into Anitta's hands, but the text substitutes Halmasuit, the Throne-goddess, for the name of Anitta.<sup>3</sup> She is evidently the deified throne itself, symbolizing the royal office, as we might say 'the Crown'.

Who then is 'Our God'? The editor of the Anitta text, E. Neu, has devoted a long discussion to this question. The noun *šiuš* is well known in later Hittite as the general word for 'god', cognate with Indo-European \**d̥iēus* 'heaven', Greek *Zeus*, Latin, *dies*, *deus*, from a root meaning 'to shine'. Dr. Neu and, simultaneously but independently, Mrs. S. R. Bin-Nun,<sup>4</sup> have drawn attention to the correspondence between this and another Old Hittite text, the ritual for the erection of a new palace,<sup>5</sup> in respect of the deities mentioned: in the one, Weather-god, Throne-goddess, and 'Our God', in the other Weather-god, Throne-goddess, and Sun-god. The passage in the ritual runs:

To me, the king, have the gods—Sun-god and Weather-god—entrusted the land and my house. I, the king, will rule over the land and my house. . . . To me, the king, the Throne-goddess has brought from the sea the power and the chariot.

nos. 102, 103; for the iconography, von Brandenstein, 1943, 78 ff.; and for this god's role in mythology, Güterbock, 1961 b, 161 ff. (CTH 343).

<sup>1</sup> KBo. III, 7. ii. 15-20 (CTH 321; Laroche, 1963/8, 68; Haas, 1970, 149).

<sup>2</sup> CTH 1; Neu, 1974.

<sup>3</sup> On this goddess see Kretschmer, 1950, 416 ff.; Laroche, 1946/7, 21 f.; Archi, 1966.

<sup>4</sup> Bin-Nun, 1975, 150.

<sup>5</sup> CTH 414; ANET 357 ff.; Schwartz, 1947.



In this intriguing text we seem again to have a recollection of the king having come from a place near the sea to acquire the kingdom of Hattusa, with the Throne-goddess acting as the agent for the two high gods. The Throne-goddess indeed plays a leading role in this text. She is addressed by the king as his 'friend', but she is asked to stay 'behind the mountains' and keep to her own domain. Since her name, Halmasuit, is purely Hattian, she can hardly represent the king's original kingdom 'by the sea'. Her prominence here must surely mean that the king had taken over a Hattian kingdom and a Hattian throne but wished to keep his new subjects at a distance. Her association in this text with the Sun-god and the Weather-god has led Dr. Neu and Mrs. Bin-Nun to the conclusion that 'Our God' of the Anitta text is in reality the Sun-god, to be translated 'Our god Siu', the name being another cognate of the Greek Zeus, the 'god of heavenly light'.<sup>1</sup> That Anitta calls him 'our Siu' must mean that he identified himself closely with the city Kanesh, which he had inherited from his father. The later male Sun-god Istanus would represent this ancient Indo-European god under a new name, adopted and adapted from the indigenous Hattian Sun-goddess Estan by the addition of a Hittite stem vowel and case ending. When this occurred, according to this theory, the old name Sius was generalized in Hittite as a word for 'god', though in Luwian and Palaic it remained, in the cognate forms Tiwaz and Tiya, as the name for the Sun-god.

It is perhaps paradoxical that Zeus, the Thunderer, *Τεργετωνος*, should appear in Hittite, not as the Weather-god (<sup>d</sup>ISKUR) but as a Sun-god (<sup>d</sup>UTU). However, the suggestion earlier made by Macqueen that the writing <sup>d</sup>ISKUR-unna-represents *siuna*-<sup>2</sup> can no longer be sustained, since on the one hand Laroche has shown that the name of the Weather-god in Hittite was Tarhu-, with a form Tarhunna-,<sup>3</sup> and on the other, Neu has established the early form of the nominative as *sius*, with *siuna* as genitive only.<sup>4</sup> It is a fact that the base \**diu*s (with suffix -*att*-) produced the name of the Sun-god in Luwian and Palaic. Perhaps then it is possible that the simple stem should have done so in Hittite.

If this thesis is accepted, we find the earliest Hittite kings venerating the old Indo-European sky-god, now regarded as a sun-god, under the name Sius, and a Weather-god who may be the indigenous Hattian Taru, but under the new name

<sup>1</sup> German *Himmelsgott* (*Lichtgott*).

<sup>2</sup> Laroche, 1958a, 93-4. Cf. Gordon, 1967, #3.

<sup>3</sup> Macqueen, 1959, 180.

<sup>4</sup> Neu, 1974, 122.

Tarhunna. If the Hattian sun-deity Estan was indeed a goddess,<sup>1</sup> it would be difficult otherwise to explain why the Hittite Istanus is a male god. The goddess took on the personality of an ancient Indo-European god.

Beside these two great gods the only reference in these earliest texts is to the Throne-goddess, Halmasuit, whose name is purely Hattian, and to the god Telipinu, another Hattian god, who appears in the palace ritual as a kind of minister bringing wine for the assembly of the gods.

Mrs. Bin-Nun has drawn attention to the apparently universal character of these two deities, the Sun-god and the Weather-god, in the early texts. They appear together also in the early lustration ritual for the royal pair,<sup>2</sup> in the Old Hittite thunder ritual,<sup>3</sup> and in the ritual against the machinations of Ziplantawiya.<sup>4</sup> In all these texts the name of the Weather-god must be Tarhunna or Tarhunta. The name of the Sun-god is written <sup>4</sup>UTU-uš wherever the nominative case-ending is indicated. This is usually taken as Istanus, but it is only in the latest of these texts, the ritual against Ziplantawiya, where the genitive is <sup>4</sup>UTU-waš, that the reading Sius would not be equally possible.

It is necessary to look rather closely at these divine names because in the six-year annals of Hattusili I we find, not the Sun-god <sup>4</sup>UTU-uš, but the Sun-goddess of Arinna, who here makes her earliest textual appearance. Hattusili declares himself 'beloved of the Sun-goddess of Arinna' and brings back booty to her temple, as well as to those of the Weather-god and Mezulla. This text exists only in late copies and it is claimed that the addition of <sup>300</sup>Arinna is due to the late scribe, the original having referred like these other early documents to the male Sun-god.<sup>5</sup> However, I do not think that the reference can be disposed of so easily. The Sun-goddess twice has the epithet GAŠAN-IA 'my lady'. This, it is true, is only in the Hittite

<sup>1</sup> (Nom.) *et-ta-a-on* (= Hitt. <sup>4</sup>UTU-uš, CTH 726, 1 obv. 3) and apparently <sup>4</sup>UTU-uš; (gen.)

<sup>4</sup>Al-ta-nu-(u)-um and <sup>4</sup>UTU-uš; full references *apud* Kammenhuber, 1962, 5-6 (add KBo XXI 85, i. 12 for gen.). On the strength of the equation with Istanus Friedrich, 1959, 146, Kammenhuber (1962, 7), Otten (1964a, 99), and von Schuler (1965b, 198) assume that this deity is male. But a Hattian Sun-deity written *li-e*-<sup>4</sup>UTU, KUB XXVIII, 75, ii. 21, with Hittite 'translation' <sup>4</sup>UTU-uš, 205/s ii. 12 (*apud* Neu, 1974, 126) has the epithet 'queen' (*katlah*/SAL LUGAI) and is clearly a goddess. Laroche (1947, 198 and 1958b, 45) would read this *lettan*, though without any clear explanation of the prefix, which should be possessive 'his' with a plural noun. The reading is emphatically rejected by Kammenhuber, who regards this as a different sun-deity (1962, 7; 1969, 434). But no other name for a Hattian sun-deity is known, and the Hittite translator made no distinction. Until *Estan* is found with a clear male epithet we may perhaps adopt the explanation proposed by Neu and outlined above.

<sup>2</sup> CTH 416; Otten and Souček, 1969.

<sup>3</sup> CTH 443; Szabó, 1971.

<sup>4</sup> CTH 631; Neu, 1970.

<sup>5</sup> Neu, 1974, 127.

version; but both versions describe the Sun-goddess as leading the king into battle, just as in later texts, and both versions refer constantly to the temple of Mezulla, a goddess everywhere else so closely associated with her mother, the Sun-goddess of Arinna, that in passages where she is coupled with the undetermined <sup>1</sup>UTU, most authorities assume that this is an abbreviation for 'Sun-goddess of Arinna'.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, since one of these passages is in the Old Hittite thunder ritual, the annals of Hattusili I should probably be cited as the earliest evidence for the Sun-goddess in the Old Kingdom rather than for the Sun-god. She is undoubtedly a Hattian goddess, for whom the name Wurusemu is attested in later texts.<sup>2</sup> Her relationship to the Hattian sun-deity Estan, especially if she is also a goddess, is a problem remaining to be solved.

Of other Hattian deities, we have already mentioned Halmasuit, the Throne-goddess, Inara, the genius of Hattusa, and Telipinu.<sup>3</sup> Others occurring in the rituals of the Old Kingdom are the War-god, Wurunkatte (who appears in the treaty-lists under the logographic ZABABA),<sup>4</sup> Siwat the 'Lucky Day',<sup>5</sup> Tasimmet the Weather-god's concubine,<sup>6</sup> and in an Underworld context, Lelwani (at this period a god, not a goddess),<sup>7</sup> Istustaya and Papaya, the Parcae who spin the threads of fate,<sup>8</sup> Kait the grain goddess,<sup>9</sup> Hasammeli the smith(?),<sup>10</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Neu, 1970, 44 n. 2; Kammenhuber, 1971, 146, 157.

<sup>2</sup> KUB XXVIII. 6 (CTH 731); I. 17 (CTH 591, 3); XXVIII. 64 (CTH 745); 104 (CTH 744); XXXVI. 89 (CTH 671, Haas, 1970, 140 ff., with variant spellings, cf. Macqueen, 1959, 175 ff.). None of these texts is in 'old ductus' (Neu, 1974, 127); XXXVI. 89 dates from the reign of Hattusili III (Haas, 1970, 141); I. 17 is apparently 'a product of the deliberate amalgamation of cults which began with Hattusili III' (Kammenhuber, 1971, 158). None the less, this must surely be a very ancient, pre-Hittite, name for the goddess (cf. Kammenhuber, 1969, 433). The meaning of the name is no better understood today than it was thirty years ago: 'sems of the country' (Laroche, 1946/7, 38; Kammenhuber, 1969, 447).

<sup>3</sup> In Hattian texts Telipinu, which may be regarded as the original form of the name. Against the earlier view of this god as a god of vegetation and agriculture (Goetze, 1933, 134; Laroche, 1946/7, 34; von Schuler, 1965, 201 f.), Güterbock (1959) has emphasized his affinity with the Weather-gods and has been followed by Haas, 1970, 106-7, though Otten (1968, 15) regards these characteristics as secondary. He has been compared with the Mysian hero Telephos (Kretschmer, 1930, 13) and with Apollo Delphinios (Barnett, 1956, 219).

<sup>4</sup> The name means 'King of the country'.

<sup>5</sup> Usually written <sup>6</sup>UD.SIG., but with a number of logographic variants (Laroche, 1946/7, 106; Otten, 1950, 126 ff.; 1958a, 13, 135 ff.; Goetze, 1953, 267; Neu, 1970, 41). The Hittite reading is (*annu*) *siwat*, though apparently *lezütanu* is also an equivalent (Otten, 1958a, 77 n. 1; Kammenhuber, 1962, 8; 1969, 434; Steiner, 1966, 351b). The name is a euphemism for 'Day of death' (Steiner, loc. cit.) and is especially frequent in the mortuary rituals.

<sup>6</sup> Otten, 1950, 123 ff.; Güterbock, 1961a, 16 f.; Laroche, 1966, 252 f.; Haas, 1970, 88.

<sup>7</sup> Otten, 1950, 129; Kammenhuber, 1972, 299.

<sup>8</sup> Bossert, 1957; Güterbock, 1961b, 149; Vieyra, 1965, 130.

<sup>9</sup> Laroche, 1946/7, 26; Kammenhuber, 1969, 460 f.; von Weier, 1975, 60 (s.v. Halki). Kait is a goddess, though the equivalent Hittite Halki is apparently male.

<sup>10</sup> Kammenhuber, 1969, 436, 478; 1972, 298; but cf. von Weier, 1975, 127. The great smith is bidden to 'take copper hammer and iron nails' in CTH 725.1. If this indeed refers to

Zilipuri.<sup>1</sup> In the Hattian myth of 'The Moon that fell from Heaven' we meet Hapantalli the Sun-god's shepherd and the goddess Kattahzipuri, with Kasku the Moon-god.<sup>2</sup> Other Hattic names are Sulinkatte (identified with Nergal)<sup>3</sup> and Zithariya, a god apparently represented by a shield which was carried in procession.<sup>4</sup> The 'gods of Kanesh' must also have been recognized by the people at this time, since their names appear in the onomastic of the pre-Hittite Assyrian colonies.<sup>5</sup> They include Pirwa, an equestrian form of Ishtar,<sup>6</sup> Ilali,<sup>7</sup> Tarawa,<sup>8</sup> and Assiyat.<sup>9</sup> Later, however, these gods are addressed in Luwian,<sup>10</sup>

Such are the principal gods and goddesses of the Hittite Old Kingdom. But the six-year annals of Hattusili also give us, by contrast, a glimpse into an entirely different pantheon of North Syria at this time. After capturing Hassuwa (near the Euphrates), Hattusili depots to Hattusa among other booty the Weather-god of Aleppo, the goddess Allatum, the god Atalur, (a local mountain god), the goddess Lilluri, and the goddess Hebat 'daughter of Allatum'.<sup>11</sup> In the Alalakh tablets (from the same area) Hebat and the Weather-god of Aleppo are associated with a goddess Ishtar or Ishhara. These are the gods of the Hurrians. They were to play a major part in Hittite religion, but it is clear from the annals of Hattusili that they had not yet crossed the Taurus.

The Hurrian cultural invasion begins in the fifteenth century, at the time when a queen with the Hurrian name Nikalmati appears in the Hittite dynastic lists as the wife of Tudhaliya II.<sup>12</sup> The name of this queen and that of her successor, Asmunikal, contain the name of Ningal, the wife of the Babylonian Moon-god Sin, and one of the most characteristic effects of the

the god Hasammeli mentioned a few lines later (denied by von Weïher, loc. cit.), there could be a connection with this god's other function of concealment by darkness and tightening doors and shutters (Goetze, 1953, 269-70). Goetze compares the name Kadmilos, Kasmilos, one of the Kabeiroi.

<sup>1</sup> Laroche, 1946/7, 39.

<sup>2</sup> Kammenhuber, 1955; *ANET* 120. Kattahzipuri, here equated with Kamrušepa, is elsewhere the high goddess of the Palaites (Kammenhuber, 1962, 77 f.). For Hapantalli as shepherd see Haas and Wilhelm, 1974, 24 f. The sheep or cattle of the Sun-god reappear in Classical mythology; cf. Page, 1973, 79 f.

<sup>3</sup> Laroche, 1946/7, 31; 1955c, 112; Haas, 1970, 72 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Otten, 1959b, 355-8; Güterbock, 1964, 68.

<sup>5</sup> Goetze, 1954a; Laroche, 1966, 288.

<sup>6</sup> Otten, 1953b; Güterbock, 1961a, 14; von Schuler, 1965b, 190 f.

<sup>7</sup> Laroche, 1966, 288; Goetze, 1953, 277.

<sup>8</sup> Goetze, 1953, 271; Friedrich, 1957, 224; Carruba, 1966, 30.

<sup>9</sup> Goetze, 1953, 274; Laroche, 1966, 289.

<sup>10</sup> Otten, 1958c, 82; Goetze, 1962, 28.

<sup>11</sup> Kammenhuber, 1974, 158.

<sup>12</sup> Laroche, 1959, 126 f.



Hurrian westward penetration was the importation of Babylonian deities in Hurrian guise, in particular Ea, with his wife Damkina, Anu and Antu, Enlil and Ninlil, and the goddesses Ishhara and Bēlat-ekalli, all of whom we have already noted in the later treaty lists. The ancestral gods of the Hurrians appear to have been the Weather-god Teshub, the Sun-god Shimegi, the Moon-god Kusuḫ, the War-god Astabi, an elder deity named Kumarbi, who was equated with the Babylonian Enlil, and the goddess Sausga, who was identified with Ishtar. These are found wherever Hurrians settled.<sup>1</sup> It was in Syria, however, that the Hurrian pantheon was formed which exercised such an influence on the Hittites. The great goddess Hebat (thought by some to have been the origin of the biblical Eve, or of the Classical Hekate)<sup>2</sup> belongs to this area, together with her mother Allatum or Allani<sup>3</sup> and Kubaba, the goddess of Carchemish.<sup>4</sup> Nikkal (Ningal) was probably borrowed from Harran. The Hurrian Kumarbi was equated with Dagan, the god of the middle Euphrates, and took over his wife Salaš or Saluš.<sup>5</sup> Kumarbi himself, to judge from his name, may have originated in Babylonia as the god of the Sumerian town Kumara,<sup>6</sup> but if so, his origin had long since been forgotten.

The accession of Tudhaliya II and Nikalmati marks the beginning of the period called either Middle Hittite or 'Archaisch Jung-hethitisch'. We have already noted a treaty of Arnuwanda from this period with an embryonic list of divine witnesses. We may now look at this list again in a new light.

The Sun-god of Heaven, explicitly so called, has not appeared before except as the physical orb in the sky towards which smoke ascends in the annals of Hattusili, and once in a broken line of the ritual of the royal pair. Presumably this is the god Istanus. The Sun-goddess of Arinna is conspicuous by her absence. The Weather-god is unspecified. The deity KAL could be either the goddess Inara, one of the ancient Hattian pantheon, or the stag-god Kurunda(?), another ancient Anatolian deity.<sup>7</sup> The logogram ZABABA stands for the Hattian

<sup>1</sup> Laroche, 1968, 522-7. On Sausga cf. Bouert, 1955, 74 ff., Danmanville, 1962.

<sup>2</sup> Hebat = Eve, Hrozný, 1932, 121; = Hekate, Barnett, 1956, 220. For this goddess in general see now Danmanville, 1975.

<sup>3</sup> Laroche, 1961, 84; 1968, 525; 1969, 93; 1974, 184 f. Allani is the Hurrian Queen of the Underworld.

<sup>4</sup> Laroche, 1960a.

<sup>5</sup> Laroche, 1968, 522-4.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Forrer, 1936, 702 ff. Astour, 1968, on the other hand, would derive the name from a small town in Syria mentioned in Egyptian sources.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 8 n. 6. For the problem of a Hurrian counterpart see Güterbock *apud* Bittel, 1975, 174 f.

god Wurunkatte. But what of the two goddesses, Ishhara and Ishtar? Ishhara belongs to the Hurrian pantheon, imported from Babylon, and the writing 'Ishtar', with stem-vowel *-i-*, presumably refers, as it does elsewhere, to the goddess of Nineveh. Here, it seems, are the first signs of the Hurrian cultural invasion. The two Hurrian goddesses are grafted on to an ancient Hattian pantheon.

Moreover, in this early treaty we already find at the end of the list the strange group of 'Primeval Gods', Nar(r)a, Napsara, Minki, Ammunki, Tuhusi, and Ammizadu, though the Mesopotamian deities Alalu, Anu, Antu, Enlil, and Ninlil, who follow them in the later treaties, are here missing. These Primeval Gods were equated by the Hittites with the Anunnaki, the great gods of the Sumerians, an earlier generation of gods who had been banished to the Underworld by Teshub and had their home there.<sup>1</sup> The myth 'Kingship in Heaven' tells of this theomachy, and though the gods so banished in the myth are Alalu, Anu, and Kumarbi, the close connection with the other 'Primeval Gods' is shown by the fact that they are directly addressed in the proem to the tale.<sup>2</sup> They appear indeed to be a group of originally Mesopotamian deities whose names have been garbled in the process of transmission. Minki and Ammunki seem somehow to reflect either the primordial pair Enki and Ninkī, or else Enki-Ea and either his epithet Ammanki or his dialect form Umunki. Narru was a name of Enlil. Is Napsara a corruption of Namtar, the dread messenger of the Underworld? Ammizadu may or may not be the Babylonian king Ammizaduga of Venus Tablet fame,<sup>3</sup> but it is difficult to see why this rather undistinguished Babylonian king should appear in such company. In any case the 'Primeval Gods' regularly occur in a Hurrian milieu and this would be in keeping with their Mesopotamian origin.<sup>4</sup>

The great enlargement of the Hittite pantheon which resulted in the stereotyped treaty lists of the Empire seems to have occurred shortly after 1400 B.C. This influence came immediately from Kizzuwadna, but more generally from Syria, which was

<sup>1</sup> Otten, 1961b, 115; Reiner and Güterbock, 1967, 265 f.

<sup>2</sup> Güterbock, 1946, 6 ff.; Goetze, *ANET* 120 f.; Güterbock, 1961b, 155 ff.; Laroche, 1963/8, 153.

<sup>3</sup> So Laroche, 1946/7, 127. A derivation from a place-name in Syria is suggested by Astour (1968, 173).

<sup>4</sup> For the 'Primeval Gods' in general see Forrer, 1936, 697 ff.; Gurney, 1940, 81; Laroche, 1946/7, 126; Güterbock, 1964, 55; Goetze, 1963, 96; Steiner, 1971, 273 ff.; Haas and Wilhelm, 1974, 51 ff.; Laroche, 1974, *passim*. Their queen, written Eriahkigal (see above, p. 5 n. 6), must be understood as Allani in view of their Hurrian origin.

the scene of most of Suppiluliuma's conquests at this time. Kizzuwadna, with its capital Kummanni, the later Comana Cappadociae, was a country of mixed Luwian and Hurrian culture, and it is from there that the Hittites imported a great mass of rituals, mainly magical, and typically performed by the so-called 'Old Woman'.<sup>1</sup> The Luwian rituals, especially those from Hupessa, Istanuwa, and Lallupiya,<sup>2</sup> contain some names of deities, but for the most part these seem never to have been integrated into the Hittite pantheon. Exceptions are Yarri and Sanda, both gods of war and pestilence armed with a bow,<sup>3</sup> and the Sun-god Tiwat.<sup>4</sup> Sanda, concealed under the logogram *Marduk*, already appears among the divine witnesses in Suppiluliuma's treaty with Hukkana; Yarri in his treaties with Sattiwaza and Tette. The group of deities with names containing the element *-sipa*, viz. Kamrusepa, Askasipa, Ispanzasipa, Huriyanzipa, Hilanzipa, Hantasipa, Miyatanzipa, Suwanzipa, and Tarsanzipa, should probably also be regarded as Luwian in origin;<sup>5</sup> but of these only Kamrusepa, a beneficent patroness of healing and magic, has a recognizable personality.<sup>6</sup>

It is quite otherwise with the Hurrian pantheon. Hurro-Mesopotamian deities such as Ea, Ishtar of Nineveh (with Ninatta and Kulitta), and Allatum already appear in treaty lists from the reign of Suppiluliuma, though here the Akkado-gram Allatum, the name for the queen of the Underworld, probably stands for Lelwani, the Hattian male counterpart, who underwent a sex-change under the influence of Akkadian theology.<sup>7</sup> In Syria, as we have seen, Allatum was held to be the

<sup>1</sup> Haas and Wilhelm, 1974, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> CTH 690-4, 771, 772-3.

<sup>3</sup> Yarri is *bel qatti* 'lord of the bow' and a regular helper in war for Mursili II (Goetze, 1933b, *passim*); see also Goetze, 1957, 134; Laroche, 1966, 291; and Kümmel, 1967, 101 ff., who traces a connection with the Babylonian Erra and with Apollo as archer. He appears in the Luwian ritual from Istanuwa, CTH 770.1, as well as in CTH 764, a Luwian ritual which seems to have a rather mixed pantheon. On Sanda see Laroche, 1973, 108 ff., comparing Herakles as a god, and below, pp. 29-30.

<sup>4</sup> Laroche, 1959, 128.

<sup>5</sup> These names were discussed by Laroche, 1946/7, 67 ff. and Goetze, 1953, 265 f. (for Miyatanzipa, cf. Otten and von Soden, 1968, 15, and for Tarsanzipa, possibly to be read Hassanzipa, Otten, 1971, 24 and 40). Goetze concluded that the suffix *-sipa* 'creates in one of the Anatolian languages adjectives of appurtenance, (and) this is certainly neither Hittite nor Luwian', but for Laroche it means 'spirit, daemon' (hardly the same as the word *sipa* denoting a disease or symptom, Burde, 1974, 34; Otten, 1943, 41 n. 3). Kamrusepa and Askasipa are among the deities celebrated by the 'singer of Kanesh', but they are not attested in the Old Assyrian texts or in the Old Kingdom, and Kamrusepa at least is found mainly in texts of a Luwian or Kizzuwadnian character (Haas, 1971, 419 ff.; Haas and Wilhelm, 1974, 24). On the other hand, Hilanzipa belongs to the Palaic pantheon (Kammenhuber, 1959, 32 and 75), and the first element in most of these names is Hittite (*alka* 'gate', *ilpani* 'night', *hila* 'court', etc.).

<sup>6</sup> See Lecture III, p. 54; Haas, 1971, 419 ff.; Haas and Wilhelm, 1974, 24 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Otten, 1950, 129; Kammenhuber, 1972, 299.

mother of Hebat, but in the treaty lists the two are quite distinct. It seems that the conquests of Suppiluliuma introduced Hurrian deities to cult-centres west of the Taurus, and in the Hukkana treaty we already find Hebat installed at Kummanni and Uda, whilst Kubaba, previously the local goddess of Carchemish, appears to have a cult in Hattusa itself by the time of Muwatalli.<sup>1</sup>

In the thirteenth century, when Hattusili married the priestess of Kizzuwadna, Puduhepa, the Hurrian gods of Kummanni virtually took over the State religion.<sup>2</sup> At their head stood the national Weather-god Teshub and his queen Hebat, with two local deities, Sarruma and Allanzu, as their son and daughter.<sup>3</sup> Teshub was worshipped in the form of a bull (Plate III) and Sarruma, originally the genius of a local mountain, received the title 'Teshub's calf'. But in this pantheon, for purposes of sacrifice, the gods and goddesses were more or less segregated into two distinct series, called *kalutis*.<sup>4</sup> In broad outline, the list of gods begins with Teshub and a small group of associates, consisting of his brother Tasmisu, the elder god Kumarbi, a deity Suwaliyat whose character is unclear, and a god concealed under the logogram NINURTA. The order of these is variable. Then follow Ea, Kusuh the Moon-god, Simegi the Sun-god, the group Astabi, Lupatig (or Nupatig), and Hesui, who seem to combine between them in some way the characters of War-god (ZABABA), 'KAL' and god of pestilence (NERGAL);<sup>5</sup> the male form of Ishtar-Sausga, another related deity Pirinkir, Tenu the vizier of Teshub, the Sky and the Earth. At the end come the attendants of Teshub, including his son Sarruma 'the calf of Teshub', the bulls Seri and Hurri,<sup>6</sup> and the mountains Namni and Hazzi (the latter being the Syrian Mons Casius, the modern Jebel el Akra).

The corresponding *kaluti* of goddesses begins with Hebat, together with her son Sarruma and her daughter Allanzu. Thus Sarruma appears in both series. This list shows a grouping of names by pairs, and in conformity with this scheme Sarruma and Allanzu are both paired with their mother. The next pair, Darru-Dakitu, appears similarly to denote a single deity, Dakitu, perhaps Semitic 'the little one', a servant of Hebat in the mythology.<sup>7</sup> Then come Hutena-Hutellura, Hurrian names based on

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 6 (from CTH 381).

<sup>2</sup> Laroche, 1948b, *passim*; 1952, 121 f.; Kammenhuber, 1974, 158.

<sup>3</sup> Laroche, 1963, 298 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Laroche, 1948b, *passim*; 1952, 118; Güterbock, 1961a.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Otten, 1959a; Güterbock, 1961a, 11; Kammenhuber, 1975.

<sup>6</sup> On these bulls see now Haas, 1975a.

<sup>7</sup> Laroche, 1968, 503; Danmanville, 1975, 327.



a verb *hute-* 'to write'.<sup>1</sup> These were goddesses of fate and were equated with the Hittite divinities whose names are written enigmatically *Gulses* and *MAH.MES*. After much discussion it is now at least clear that these were goddesses of individual destiny, presiding at birth and acting as nurses, also in mythology creatresses of man.<sup>2</sup> As already mentioned, the Hattian counterparts were *Istustaya* and *Papaya*,<sup>3</sup> though there is no evidence that the identification was ever made. *Ishihara* follows here, the ancient Mesopotamian goddess, regarded by the Hittites as guardian of the oath and also as bearer of a fatal disease,<sup>4</sup> and *Allani* 'the Lady', a title of the Queen of the Underworld, *Erishkigal* or *Allatum*.<sup>5</sup> Next come *Nikkal*, the Sumerian *Ningal* who had a popular cult at *Kummanni* as wife of the Moon-god *Kusuh*,<sup>6</sup> and 'Ishtar', here the great Hurrian goddess *Sausga*, with her attendants *Ninatta* and *Kulitta*. Among the minor goddesses who follow we recognize *Naparbi*, wife of *Suwalijat*,<sup>7</sup> *Saluš*, wife of *Kumarbi* (and formerly of *Dagan*),<sup>8</sup> and *Kubaba*, the goddess of *Carchemish*, who was to attain preeminence centuries later as *Kybele-Cybele*, the Great Mother of Phrygian religion.<sup>9</sup>

This pantheon confronts us in countless rituals of the later period and in prayers uttered by Queen *Puduhepa*. By a process of syncretism the Hurrian divinities were to some extent identified with their Hattian and Hittite counterparts, a well-known example being the prayer of *Puduhepa* which contains the following passage:

O Sun-goddess of *Arinna*, my lady, queen of all the countries, in the land of *Hatti* thou bearest the name 'Sun-goddess of *Arinna*', but in the country which thou hast made the land of cedars thou bearest the name 'Hebat'.<sup>10</sup>

Alternatively, they might be simply juxtaposed, as in the festival in honour of *Sausga* of *Samuha*, where we find the Sun-goddess of *Arinna* and her daughter *Mezulla* followed by *Hebat*, *Sarruma* and the whole Hurrian *kaluti* in a single series.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laroche, 1948b, 124 ff.; Haas, 1975b.

<sup>2</sup> Most recently, Carruba, 1966, 29 ff., 34 ff.; Otten-Siegelova, 1970; Otten, 1975.

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> As guardian of the oath, Kümmel, 1967, 38; as bearer of a fatal disease, Burde, 1974, 12-16. Cf. also Laroche, 1974, 180.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 5 n. 6.

<sup>6</sup> CTH 381. i. 63; Laroche, 1955a, 12; 1966, 349.

<sup>7</sup> Laroche, 1948b, 128; Güterbock, 1961a, 15. Possibly in origin '(goddess) of Nippur' (Laroche, loc. cit.); cf. *Kumarbi* (p. 14).

<sup>8</sup> Laroche, 1948b, 129, 132; 1968, 324.

<sup>10</sup> ANET 393.

<sup>11</sup> Laroche, 1960a.

<sup>12</sup> CTH 712. ii. 36 ff.; Laroche, 1948b, 123.

Hattusili III adopted Sausga of Samuha as his personal deity; but at the same time he appears to have encouraged an active Hattian revival. The holy city Nerik had been overrun many centuries earlier by the barbarian Kaska folk and the cult of its Weather-god had been carried on at the neighbouring city of Hakkis.<sup>1</sup> Hattusili tells us with pride that he recaptured the place and restored its cults. Now Nerik was an ancient Hattian centre and the newly reconstructed rituals and myths of Nerik are concerned with Hattian deities. Many even contain passages in Hattic with Hittite translation. It is not always easy to distinguish these late texts from those of the Old Kingdom with their predominantly Hattian colouring.<sup>2</sup> The chief god of Nerik was its Weather-god, who was identified with the Weather-god of Zippalanda and also to some extent with the Hurrian Sarruma, as son of the Weather-god of Hatti. Other local gods were the Mountain Zaliyanu and his spouse Zashapuna. Sulinkatte (= Nergal) and the War-god Wurunkatte also enjoyed a cult at Nerik.<sup>3</sup>

That the Hurrian religion finally prevailed may be seen most clearly in the sculptures of Yazilikaya, the open-air shrine near Boğazköy (frontispiece), which date from the time of Tudhaliya IV, Hattusili's son and successor. Tudhaliya's chosen personal god was Sarruma who, as we have seen, ranked low among the Hurrian gods and was regarded as a junior attached to his mother. Yazilikaya is faithful to the Hurrian conception, though in the smaller chamber, to which we shall return in the second lecture, this god is depicted again in heroic proportions as the patron of the king (Plate II).

In the main chamber we see depicted in relief on the walls the two *kalutis* of Teshub and Hebat in the form of two processions meeting at the central point (Fig. 1). In the last ten years much progress has been made in reading the badly weathered hieroglyphic signs forming the names of the deities, and most of them can now be identified.<sup>4</sup> On the wall facing the entrance (Plate Ia) are Teshub and Hebat with their son and daughter, Sarruma and Allanzu, and their granddaughter.<sup>5</sup> For reasons

<sup>1</sup> Haas, 1970, 7, and *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Kammenhuber, 1972, 293.

<sup>3</sup> Haas, *op. cit.*, 67 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Laroche, 1969, *passim*; the latest exposition is by Güterbock in Bittel, 1975.

<sup>5</sup> According to Laroche, both the figures standing on the double-headed eagle represent the daughter, Allanzu; but Güterbock would read the legend by the right-hand figure (no. 46) as 'Granddaughter of Teshub' (*loc. cit.* 179). In the Hattian pantheon the supreme pair, the Weather-god Taru and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, had a granddaughter whose name, Zintuhi, is simply the Hattian word for 'granddaughter'. The fact that at Yazilikaya this goddess bears not a name but a logographic description shows that in Hurrian there was no equivalent and that the artist was deliberately 'translating' the Hattian pantheon.



20

15



35



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5



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25

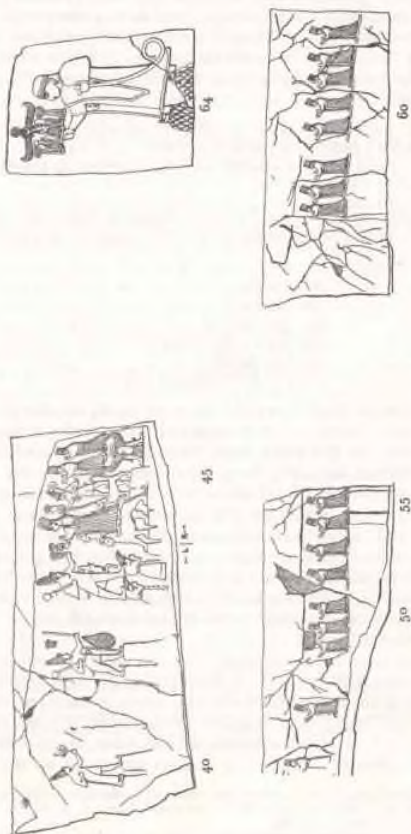


Fig. 1. Yazilikaya. The sculptures of Chamber A

at present unknown, the artist has shown Hebat and Sarruma standing on panthers and Allanzu and the granddaughter standing on a double-headed eagle; and he has also represented Sarruma as the 'calf of Teshub' a second time, and moreover twice, by the legs of each of his parents. Teshub stands on mountain gods, exactly as described in a passage of a cult-inventory:

Weather-god of Heaven, a male statue, plated with gold, in his right hand he holds a club, in his left hand he holds a golden symbol of good, standing on two mountains in the form of male statues plated with silver.<sup>1</sup>

The procession following Teshub consists of forty-one deities (Plate 1b), of whom the names of the following can be read with certainty:

- No. 39: Ea.
- No. 38: Sauska
- No. 35: MOON
- No. 34: SUN of HEAVEN
- No. 33: Astabi
- No. 32: ANTLER-ti (= 'KAL)

In the *kaluti* of Teshub, as already mentioned, Ea, the Moon-god, the Sun-god, Astabi, and a 'tutelary' god of the KAL type are listed in just this order, and Ishtar-Sausga—the male form of this deity—is included, though at a later point. The two gods nos. 41 and 40, between Teshub and Ea, should according to the lists be two of the group consisting of Teshub's brother Tasmisu and the gods Suwaliyat and Kumarbi. If Suwaliyat is merely another name for Tasmisu, as has been thought, there is no further difficulty here: no. 41 is the 'brother of Teshub', no. 40 is Kumarbi.<sup>2</sup> The two small girls following Sausga (nos. 37 and 36), both of whose names can be seen to end in *-id*, must be her attendants Ninatta and Kulitta. For nos. 31 and 30 Pirinkir and Hesui have been suggested. The two signs combined in a single design with a pair of bull-men, nos. 29-8, represent heaven and earth, and the bull-men, who are nameless, could be Seri and Hurri. The remainder are uncertain, but nos. 17-13 are depicted as mountain-gods and appear to be labelled 'divine mountains'. The twelve runners who bring up the rear

<sup>1</sup> Branderstein, 1943, 6, 8-11; the description differs only in that the statue described was 'sitting', whereas at Yazilikaya (and similarly at Imamkulu, Bosert, 1942, 563) the deity is standing. Cf. Güterbock, *op. cit.* 189.

<sup>2</sup> Identifications proposed by Laroche and accepted by Güterbock, though the actual reading of the signs is uncertain.



may be the 'twelve gods of the crossroads', a group once mentioned in association with the Underworld god Nergal.<sup>1</sup>

In the female procession, both the figures and the names are badly damaged. There were originally twenty goddesses following Allanzu and the granddaughter, but one has been totally obliterated and at least one, more probably two, have been cut out and removed elsewhere. One of the latter was found at the neighbouring village of Yekbas.<sup>2</sup>

The name of the defaced goddess, no. 46a, is now illegible, but by a judicious use of the drawings made by nineteenth-century travellers Laroche has restored the name as Dakitu 'the little one', with the possibility that it is to be read in its enigmatic compounded form Darru-Dakitu.<sup>3</sup> Nos. 47 and 48 can be identified with certainty as Hutena-Hutellura, the Hurrian goddesses of fate. No. 49 is read *A-la-tu*, i.e. Allatum, corresponding to Allani in the lists, Ishhara being omitted. Nos. 50 and 52 are nameless, no. 51 is uncertain, but no. 53 is read *Tá-ka-ki-na*, i.e. Damkina, the wife of Ea, and no. 54 is Nikkal (Ningal), the wife of the Moon-god. The relief found at Yekbas shows a goddess without a name, but behind her is written quite clearly the name Sausga, which presumably belongs to a second missing figure.<sup>4</sup> Thus, just as in the lists, Ishtar-Sausga appears in both processions. It is rather strange that the attendants, Ninatta and Kulitta, have been put in the male procession, but they are carved in a way which suggests that they may have been a later addition.<sup>5</sup> The rest of this procession is unidentified.

The nature and purpose of this rock shrine will be discussed in the next lecture. The reliefs were probably executed for Tudhaliya IV, whose figure is carved on a rock facing the central group. Their almost exact correspondence with the Hurrian *kalutis* strikingly demonstrates the dominance of the Hurrian elements in the State religion by the end of the thirteenth century.

<sup>1</sup> Güterbock, 1964, 72 n. 91; 1965, 198; and *apud* Bittel, 1975, 191-2.

<sup>2</sup> Güterbock, 1947, 189 ff. Alternative positions for this block are discussed in Bittel, 1975, 114 f. It is illustrated in Vieyra, 1955, pl. 23; Laroche, 1969, 98.

<sup>3</sup> Doubts are expressed about this reading by Güterbock *apud* Bittel, 1975, 180.

<sup>4</sup> Vieyra, 1955, 64; Danmanville, 1962, 14; Güterbock *apud* Bittel, 1975, 181.

<sup>5</sup> Bittel, 1941, 70; 1975, 140; Beran, 1965, 269-70.

## THE DEITIES OF YAZILIKAYA

- Central group: No. 42: Teshub  
 No. 42a: 'Calf of Teshub' (= Sarruma)  
 No. 43: Hebat  
 No. 44: Sarruma  
 No. 45: Allanzu  
 No. 46: 'Teshub's grandchild'

## Left side:

- No. 41: 'Brother of Teshub' (?)  
 No. 40: Kumarbi  
 No. 39: Ea  
 No. 38: Sausga  
 No. 37: Ninatta  
 No. 36: Kulitta  
 No. 35: 'Moon-god'  
 No. 34: 'Sun-god of Heaven'  
 No. 33: Astabi  
 No. 32: 'Stag-god' (KAL)  
 No. 31: Pirinkir (?)  
 No. 30: Hesui  
 No. 29-8: Seri and Hurri  
 No. 27: Nergal (?)  
 No. 26: Pisaisaphi

Rest either nameless or illegible.

## Right side:

- No. 46a: Darru-Dakitu  
 No. 47: Hutena  
 No. 48: Hutellura  
 No. 49: Allatu  
 No. 51: Naparbi (?)  
 No. 52: Šaluš-Bitinhi (?)<sup>1</sup>  
 No. 53: Tapkina (= Damkina)  
 No. 54: Nikkal (= Ningal)  
 No. 55: Aya (?)<sup>1</sup>  
 No. 55a (Yekbas figure): nameless  
 No. 55b (Yekbas name): Sausga  
 Rest illegible.

<sup>1</sup> Haas and Wülfel, 1974, 230; Güterbock, 1975b, 276.

## II

### THE CULT

RELIGIOUS texts form a large proportion of the Hittite royal library. Out of the 20,000 fragments recovered since excavations started in 1907, some 600 distinct works have been identified, and of these about 170 are religious. Even so, comparison with the titles listed in the ancient catalogues shows that only about one seventh of the original library has been recovered.<sup>1</sup> The religious texts fall into the categories of myths, prayers and hymns, festivals and ceremonies, cult inventories, divination reports, and magical rituals. I propose to deal in this lecture with the cult inventories and some of the festival texts, which provide our main evidence for the religious cults.

Knowledge of the age-old local cults comes almost entirely from the cult inventories.<sup>2</sup> These appear to be reports of commissioners sent out by King Tudhaliya IV, late in the thirteenth century B.C., to collect information about the condition of the shrines in the various regions.<sup>3</sup> Many of them are mere lists of temple furniture, though these often record recent donations made by the king for the enrichment of the shrine. Others are more elaborate and include descriptions of the local religious festivals. Some of these texts are particularly well preserved, and they have been well edited by C. W. Carter in a Chicago dissertation.<sup>4</sup>

We find—rather surprisingly—that in most of these shrines cult-images in human form were an innovation due to the king's benefaction. Formerly the deity had been represented either by a symbol or by a stela, for which the Hittite word is '*huwaki* stone'. The exception is the Weather-god, who in most instances was represented by a bull, both before and after the enrichment of the shrine, just as we see him represented on the well-known sculpture at Alaca Hüyük (Plate III). Thus at a place called Marash (not the same as modern Maraş) there were four deities. Originally the Weather-god had been in the form of a bull, tin-plated, standing on all fours; the second, a

<sup>1</sup> Laroche, 1971, 192-3.

<sup>2</sup> *CTH* 501-30; cf. von Brandenstein, 1943; Jakob-Rost, 1963.

<sup>3</sup> Laroche, 1975, 91. Cf. Carter, 1962, 17 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Carter, 1962.



mountain god, had been represented by a weapon (<sup>10</sup>TUKUL), possibly a mace; the third by five copper daggers; and the fourth by a stela showing a mother suckling her child. These were replaced respectively by a silver bull, a mace adorned with a sun-disc and a moon-crescent and surmounted by an iron figure of a man, a silver figure of a standing man with eyes of gold holding a copper dagger, and a figure of a woman suckling her child.<sup>1</sup> At Hursalassi the Weather-god had been represented by a *wakšur* vessel, which was replaced by an iron bull; the goddess Haburiyata had been in the form of a stela, which was replaced by a figure of a seated woman.<sup>2</sup> Conversely, at Watarwa a tin-plated figure of the Weather-god was replaced by a bull.<sup>3</sup> Only in five places are anthropomorphic figures of the Weather-god attested, though this seems to have been a general rule for other deities.<sup>4</sup> Objects donated by the king were often inscribed with his name. At Tahurpa during a festival the queen offered sacrifices to eight Sun-goddesses of Arinna in the form of three statues and five sun-discs, which had apparently been donated by six of her predecessors, and presumably bore their names.<sup>5</sup>

For the most part these images do not appear to have been life-sized statues. Their size is given in the inventories in terms of the unit *šekan*, which has been determined as about 22 cm., just under 9 inches.<sup>6</sup> They measure for the most part either 1 or 1½ *šekan*, occasionally 2 *šekan*, that is, c. 9–18 inches. Thus they are definitely statuettes, not statues. Such statuettes have been found.<sup>7</sup> Yet scenes of worship generally show life-sized cult-images, and Bittel has pointed out that the size of the bases in the excavated temples at the capital proves that there at least the cult-images must have been full-sized statues.<sup>8</sup> He therefore thinks that the statuettes were replicas. In fact we do not have inventories for the temples of the capital and they may well have had full-sized statues, probably of precious metal, if we may judge from a prayer of Puduhepa in which she vows to make for the goddess Lelwani 'a statue of Hattusili as big as Hattusili, with head, hands and feet of gold' if the goddess will preserve his health.<sup>9</sup> But the cult-inventories from the provincial towns say nothing of large statues and seem to indicate that in these places the statuettes were the actual cult-images.

<sup>1</sup> *KBo*, II, 1, i. 28 ff. (*CTH* 509); Carter, 52, 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 32 ff.; Carter, 55, 64.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 21 ff.; Carter, 54, 64.

<sup>4</sup> Jakob-Rost, 1963, 206.

<sup>5</sup> *KUB* XXV. 14, i. 10–31; Gurney, 1958, 120; Bin-Nun, 1975, 197 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Jakob-Rost, 1963, 176–8; Alp, 1961/2, 233.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Alp, 1961/2; Bittel, 1964, 123 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Bittel, 1964, 126.

<sup>9</sup> *ANET* 394.

The festivals described in these texts take place mainly in spring and autumn, and we learn that in most cult-centres the deity had a stela or *huwasi*-stone set up not only in his temple but also in a locality outside the town, in the open country, usually by a grove or a spring, or on a mountain. In such cases they are often said to be in a structure called a *tarnu*-house, which may be nothing more than a temenos wall.<sup>1</sup> One of these festivals, which has been frequently quoted, is the following:

When it is the time for the autumn festival of the Weather-god, they wash, the priest carries the god to the *huwasi*-stone, they wash the *huwasi*-stone and anoint it. They put down the god in front of the *huwasi*-stone. The priest offers one sheep for Yarri and one sheep for the Seven Gods. They slaughter them at the *huwasi*. They set meat (various loaves of bread) and a vessel of beer, for the cult-stand. They break bread and fill the rhytons. They eat, they drink, the *hazgara*-women entertain the god. They divide the young men into two groups and name them; one group they call 'men of Hatti', the other group they call 'men of Masa'. The men of Hatti have bronze weapons, but the men of Masa have weapons of reed. And they fight, and the men of Hatti win. They take a prisoner of war and devote him to the god. Then they pick up the god and carry him back to the temple and put him on the cult-stand. They break bread, offer beer and erect the lamps.<sup>2</sup>

Here is a second example:

When it becomes spring and it thunders . . . the priests . . . carry the mountain-god Halwanna up to the mountain. Now if the area is controlled by the enemy, they carry him to the mountain and place him in front of the *huwasi*-stone, which stands under a tree. They break bread and offer beer. But if the area is not controlled by the enemy, they set him by the *huwasi* under the tree by the side of the river. They offer 1 ox and 8 sheep. They set down meat; bread and beer for the cult-stand and other bread and beer for display. . . . They eat and drink, they fill the cups. In the presence of the god there is wrestling. They start fighting, they make merry. When the sun sets they carry the god down to the city and set him up in the temple.<sup>3</sup>

A similar local festival in which the king takes part is the following:

The king goes into the inner room. . . . They bring the Sun-god down to the wood and put him (by) the *huwasi*. They consecrate 1 fat ox and 7 sheep and slaughter them by the *huwasi*.

When the king celebrates the Weather-god of the Army, he stands forward and consecrates a fat bull, 4 sheep (among them 1 lamb) and

<sup>1</sup> Darga, 1969, 13 n. 14.

<sup>2</sup> KUB XVII, 35, iii. 1 ff.; Carter, 1962, 129, 142. Cf. Ehelolf, 1925; Lesky, 1927.

<sup>3</sup> KUB XXV, 23, i. 8 ff.; Carter, 154, 164.

4 goats (among them 1 kid). They slaughter them at the *ḫuwašē*. . . (All this) in one day in the forest of Anziliya.<sup>1</sup>

These festivals consist regularly of sacrifice, feasting, and an entertainment (*duškaraz*).<sup>2</sup> There could be no better illustration of the type of religion described by Robertson Smith in 1888:

Everywhere we find that a sacrifice ordinarily involves a feast and that a feast cannot be provided without a sacrifice. For a feast is not complete without flesh, and in early times the rule that all slaughter is sacrifice was not confined to the Semites. . . . When men meet their god they feast and are glad together, and whenever they feast and are glad they desire that the god should be of the party.<sup>3</sup>

In these rather concise texts the procedure of sacrifice is described briefly in two stages, denoted by the verbs *šipant-* and *ḫuek-*. The first action is performed by the priest, the second by the indefinite 'they' or by the cook. The verb *šipant-*, which is cognate with Greek σπένδω, is the verb used for pouring libations. For this reason, when used of an animal, it has been thought to refer to the shedding of the blood and is sometimes translated 'brings as a blood-sacrifice'.<sup>4</sup> However, Goetze has now shown that there are passages in which the animal remains alive and apparently unharmed after this action,<sup>5</sup> and in more detailed descriptions of sacrifice we find that the blood is only shed after the second action, denoted by *ḫuek-* or *ḫatta-*, both approximately 'to slaughter'. I am therefore adopting Goetze's translation 'to consecrate' for *šipant-*. That there was some difference between *ḫuek-* and *ḫatta-* is shown by the following passage from a ritual against impotence:

Then I consecrate a sheep to Uliliassi and they slaughter it (*ḫuek-*) down in front of the table. Finally they remove the sheep, cut it up(?) (*ḫatta-*) and [cook] it.<sup>6</sup>

Usually, however, only one of these two verbs is found—indeed both may be omitted and *šipant-* left to stand for the whole procedure in the sense 'to sacrifice'.

Blood indeed plays very little part in Hittite sacrifice, just as in ancient Mesopotamia. The text which has been quoted in

<sup>1</sup> CTH 681; Dinçol and Dargu, 1969/70, 105, 19 ff., and 107, 15 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Carter, 67 f.; Güterbock, 1964, 72.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, 1901, 255. This is the communion sacrifice (*ceḫah ṣ'lämim*) of the O.T. which is thought to be part of a pre-Semitic heritage (Rost, 1958; de Vaux, 1964).

<sup>4</sup> Otten, 1958a, 196 f.; 1961b, 129 (3), 131 (32); 1971, 5 (38); Haas-Wilhelm, 1974, *passim*. Cf. Kömmel, 1973a, 347.

<sup>5</sup> Goetze, 1970/1, 88. For the ritual of Zarpiya (see below) the point was already made by Schwartz, 1938, 347.

<sup>6</sup> Ritual of Paškuwatti, CTH 406, ANET 350. For 'slaughtering down' see p. 30 n. 4.

support of the translation 'brings as a blood-sacrifice' is in fact unique and has a different terminology:

The chief cook 'cuts' (*kuirzi*) 10 sheep and 2 oxen to the Weather-god by the hearth. . . . And he occupies himself with(?) the blood of the sheep, and he keeps libating the blood in front of the cult-stand.<sup>1</sup>

This text belongs to the cult of the royal ancestors and the reason for the emphasis on blood here is not clear. In view of the countless examples with the normal terminology where there is no reference to blood, it is doubtful whether this passage should be taken as revealing the true meaning of the verb *šipant-*.

In other passages where blood is mentioned there are special reasons. It was a regular offering for the chthonic deities, who craved for it,<sup>2</sup> as in the following passage from the invocation of the Underworld gods to absolve a house from blood-guilt:

The water which he has brought from the spring he libates into the water(?). Then he consecrates (*šipant-*) a lamb with the water (var. into the water). They slaughter (*halla-*) it and let the blood run into a clay *huppar* vessel and place it before the God of Blood (this is an image which has just been made), and he says: 'Anunnaki, whatever blood-guilt is in (this house), take it and give it to the God of Blood, let him take it down to the dark Underworld and there peg it down fast.'<sup>3</sup>

The blood of the victim here is not only an offering to the Underworld gods but also a symbol of the blood-guilt infecting the house.

In the ritual of Zarpiya blood functions as part of the symbolism of sharing a meal in order to establish a covenant relationship with a deity:

They lead in a goat and the master of the house consecrates (*šipant-*) the goat in front of the table to Sanda with wine. Then he holds out a bronze axe and says: 'Come, Sanda, and let the Violent Gods come with you, who are clothed in blood-stained garments and girt with the cords(?) of Lulahhi men, who have a dagger in the belt, draw bows and

<sup>1</sup> KUB X. 11. vi, 1-7, CTH 660, quoted by Otten, 1938a, 126, and Goetze, 1970/1, 85.

<sup>2</sup> Hoffner, 1967a, 395; McCarthy, 1969, 171 ff.

<sup>3</sup> CTH 446; Otten, 1961b, 129. In line 3 Otten prefers the variant *še-te-ni* (KBo X. 45. iii. 12) and translates 'makes a blood-sacrifice into the water'. But the repetition of *uṣeni(t) šipanti* is suspect and the text appears to be corrupt. Water has been specially brought from a spring. It hardly makes sense to say that it is then 'libated into the water', or that the lamb is slaughtered 'into it'. It is more likely to have been brought for purposes of purification; and the verb *šipanti* belongs properly to the lamb. In favour of the textual reading *A-še-te-ni-it BAL-ti* (KUB XLII. 8. iii. 3) is the closely parallel *IS-TU GESTIN ša-pa-an-ti* of the Zarpiya ritual (below).

The 'Anunnaki' are the Primeval Gods of the Hurrians described above, p. 15.



hold arrows. Come and eat! And we will take the oath.' When he has finished speaking he puts the bronze axe down on the table and they slaughter (*hatta-*) the goat. He takes the blood and smears the drinking tube which is inserted into the tankard with the blood. They bring the raw liver and the heart and the master of the house offers them to the god and takes a bite. They do an imitation(?). Then he puts his lip to the tube and sips and says: 'Behold, Sanda and Violent Gods, we have taken oath. Since we have bitten the raw liver and drunk from one(?) tube, therefore Sanda and Violent Ones, do not again approach my gate.' Then they cook the liver and heart with fire and cut up all the rest of the goat. . . . He takes the shoulder and breast. . . . Then they surround the table and eat up the shoulder and breast. Then [just as they wish(?)] to eat and drink, so he brings, and they eat [up(?) . . .] and they drink [ . . . ] the tankard.<sup>1</sup>

This passage has been strangely neglected in the controversy over the significance of the West Semitic custom of killing an animal to sanctify a covenant or treaty.<sup>2</sup> It is the clearest expression of the belief in the efficacy of this solemn rite, which at Mari and at Alalakh was virtually synonymous with the covenant itself, and still had its full force in the covenant of Moses (Exod. 24: 5-8). In the first millennium its original significance had apparently been forgotten and the slaughter of the victim was used merely as one among many analogical warnings of the fate awaiting the transgressor.

Hoffner has pointed out that the Greeks killed the sacrificial animal with the throat upwards for the Olympians and with the throat downwards for the Chthonians (so that the blood might more easily soak into the earth), but he remarks that the Hittite texts make no mention of the position of the animal's throat.<sup>3</sup> It may perhaps be suggested that this is the significance of the distinction between 'slaughtering up' and 'slaughtering down' which has puzzled commentators.<sup>4</sup> But this would need further investigation.

<sup>1</sup> GTH 757, translated by Schwartz, 1938. See Gurney, 1940, 64 and Laroche, 1973, 110. The ritual is of Luwian origin and is for the purpose of ridding the country of an epidemic caused by Sanda (written MARDUK) and his bloodthirsty associates the Innarawantes. On Sanda see above, p. 16. Though an offering of blood might be thought appropriate to this group, it is not in fact offered, but is used to establish a mystical bond between the wine which is drunk by the participants and the victim which is shared with the god. The offering of the entrails to the god, while the participants consume the rest of the meat, may be compared to the Hebrew practice as laid down in Lev. 3 and 7. Cf. p. 56 n. 3.

For *himma*- 'model, imitation' see now Oettinger, 1976, 61 ff. Since models are not used in this ritual, 'they' must be presumed to imitate the householder's actions.

<sup>2</sup> Discussed at length by McCarthy, 1963, 52 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Hoffner, 1967a, 399.

<sup>4</sup> 'Slaughtering down' (*katta/kattanda* *huk-/hatta-*) is the expression commonly used when the blood is shed into a pit of some sort (*hattelni, pattelni, api, ANA TUL, uappui*) for the *dei inferi* (e.g. Haas, 1970, 142, 4; Otten, 1961b, 120, 42; Otten, 1958a, 58, 5; KUB X. 63. i. 15,

Turning from the local to the national cult, we are confronted by a great mass of texts forming the bulk of the Hittite library. The public rituals are the festivals (EZEN),<sup>1</sup> particularly those in which the king takes part. There are at least eighty names for such festivals,<sup>2</sup> but to judge from their duration (so far as it is known) the most important were once again those held in the spring and the autumn. The spring festival was named after the AN.TAḪ.SUM plant, possibly the crocus or saffron, and lasted 38 days; the plant was 'taken' by the king and queen (whatever that may mean) on the 9th day.<sup>3</sup> The autumn festival was called *nuntariyašhaš* and lasted at least 21 days.<sup>4</sup> The KILAM festival, also held in the spring, had at least eleven tablets,<sup>5</sup> and the *hisuwa* or *isuwa* festival (a late arrival from a Hurrian milieu) thirteen, though days are not mentioned.<sup>6</sup> Another spring festival was the *purulli* festival, to which we shall return. It had at least thirty-two tablets.<sup>7</sup> It is typical of the autumn festivals that the storage vessels are filled and at the spring festivals the same vessels are opened and their contents used.<sup>8</sup>

In the festival texts the performance of the ceremonies is described in great detail, so that a whole tablet is usually assigned to the rites of a single day. These ceremonies are all very similar and since most of the tablets are fragmentary it is difficult to distinguish one festival from another. The distinctive character of each festival will not be understood until more tablets have been identified and placed in their proper sequence. As an example we may take the tablet for the sixteenth day of the AN.TAḪ.SUM festival, which has often been quoted on account of its comparatively good preservation, though the tablet in fact describes only the second half of the day's ritual and the first half is missing. This day's celebrations are in honour of the War-god, Wurunkatte.<sup>9</sup>

20; XXIX. 4-iv, 36; KBo XI. 14. iii. 9; 17. ii. 14). But what is 'slaughtering up'? e.g. *uḫyanī šard ḫukanzi*, KUB XXV. 33. i. 8; *šard ANA NINDA.KUR.RA.HIA ḫukanzi*, IBoT I. 29. i. 42; *oḫlah(hurmezzial šard ḫukanzi*, Sturtevant-Bechtel, 1935, 110, 36. Cf. Friedrich, *HWb.* 70 s.v. *ḫuk-*. In the last two examples Goetze (1970/1, 90) translates 'on'. But this would be *fer*, not *šard*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Güterbock, 1969, 175.

<sup>2</sup> They are listed by Hoffner, 1967b, 39 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Güterbock, 1960a; 1964, 6a ff.; CTH 604-25.

<sup>4</sup> CTH 626; Güterbock, 1964, 68 f.; Laroche, 1972, no. 626, Bo. 2438.

<sup>5</sup> CTH 627; Güterbock, 1969, 178 f.

<sup>6</sup> CTH 628; Güterbock, *ibid.* 179 f.

<sup>7</sup> The catalogue KUB XXX. 42. i. 5 (CTH p. 162) lists the 32nd tablet (Haas, 1970, 43).

<sup>8</sup> Gurney, 1940, 121; Güterbock, 1964, 72; Hoffner, 1974, 49 f.

<sup>9</sup> CTH 612; ANET 358 ff. Cf. Güterbock, 1975a, 128.

The text opens in the first line with the call *waganna* 'to take a bite', the signal for the preparation of a cultic meal. Evidently, a sacrifice has already taken place, because after the king has left the temple and the place has been swept clean, the staff of the temple bring in the meat of a bull, and of cows, sheep, and goats and place it in front of the cult-stand before the god, and on either side of it two silver bowls for libation filled with wine. The king and queen go to the *halentuwa* building (probably to be understood as the palace)<sup>1</sup>, robe themselves, and proceed back to the temple to the accompaniment of music. After some purification ceremonies in the forecourt they enter the temple of the War-god. The king goes to the throne, while the queen enters the inner room. The chief cook brings portions of meat and puts them down by the hearth, by the throne, by the window, by the bolt of the door, and another again by the hearth. (These are known as the 'holy places'.) He then presents a libation vessel with wine to the king, and after the king has touched it with his hand, he pours libations, three before the throne, three for the god, one each for the same four holy places, and finally one for the statue of King Hattusili (probably Hattusili I). The king prostrates himself. The musicians leave. The king and queen now sit down on their thrones, and a palace servant brings in the 'lituus'<sup>2</sup> and places it at the king's right. There is further washing of hands. Now, the table is brought in and set up for the king. Various loaves and a pot-stand have been prepared outside. The princes, the senior cooks, and the priests are ushered in. The major-domo calls for 'music' and the musicians lift the 'Ishtar instruments' and carry them in, accompanied by various functionaries. The cooks serve meat and water. The *UBARU*-men<sup>3</sup> are brought in and seated and are served with *marnuwan*-beer.<sup>4</sup> The king and queen wash their hands and the sweepers sweep the floor. The cupbearer now gives the king some beer and he 'drinks to' the god Tauri;<sup>5</sup> the Ishtar instruments play, but there is no singing. The herald makes the congregation stand up. The king and queen standing 'drink to' the Sun-god and Tappinu<sup>6</sup> and the king pours a

<sup>1</sup> Güterbock, 1971, 307 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This is the long curved staff called *kalmu* and held by the Hittite kings on numerous monuments (e.g. Plate I). Cf. Akurgal, 1962, 112; Garstang, 1929, 336; Alp, 1947.

<sup>3</sup> The part played by the *UBARU*-men in the temple cult is still not clear. Cf. Neu, 1970, 76-9.

<sup>4</sup> That *marnuwan* is a kind of beer has been shown by von Schuler, 1969.

<sup>5</sup> A Hattian deity, possibly a deified object or tree, since *KBo* II. 5. i. 2 has *si-ta-u-ri-t* (Laroche, 1966, 233); but Kümmel, 1973b, 170 n. 6, regards this as a scribal error.

<sup>6</sup> Probably a name for the goddess Mezulla (Laroche, 1955c, 112).

libation while the musicians play and sing; he also breaks bread. He makes a gesture of reverence while standing. Now the king and queen sit down and a servant puts a linen cloth on their knees. The head palace servant announces twelve Arinna loaves to them, and the chief cook presents three pot-racks(?) beside the hearth. The king makes a gesture and they bring in *tahtum-mara*.<sup>1</sup> The king and queen, sitting, 'drink to' the Weather-god of Zippalanda, while the musicians play. The king breaks a 'sour' loaf and a 'sweetened' loaf.<sup>2</sup> . . . The smiths bring two silver bulls' heads. These are filled with wine,<sup>3</sup> a priest pours a libation from them beside the hearth, and they take them out.<sup>4</sup> A 'table-man' takes a *tunnaptā*-cake from the table and takes it out. Then the bulls' heads full of wine<sup>5</sup> and the *tunnaptā*-cake are distributed.<sup>6</sup> The king and queen 'drink to' Hulla,<sup>7</sup> Teli-pinu,<sup>8</sup> and the War-god and the king breaks bread. The musicians play, and the congregation pays reverence to the king. The major-domo takes the cup-bearer's cloak. The cup-bearer holds a silver cup of wine and gives it to the king<sup>9</sup> and they withdraw backwards, keeping their eyes on the king and stand by the hearth. The major-domo lets go of the cup-bearer's cloak and the cup-bearer pays reverence to the king. The major-domo again takes hold of the cloak and brings him to the king.<sup>10</sup> The cup-bearer takes the cup from the king and the major-domo grasps him by his cloak on the left side. They go back to the hearth. A ZABAR.DIB man (butler) now comes in and takes the golden(!) cup with the wine from the cup-bearer and removes them. The 'kneelers' bring in certain foods and offer them to the king. The cup-bearer pays reverence to the king, picks up the bread and carries it out. The vergers make the congregation stand up. The palace servants take the knee-cloths from the king and queen. The king and queen stand up and 'drink to' the Sun-god to the accompaniment of music; he also breaks bread. The 'table-man' brings in a loaf and puts it by the window. The congregation remains standing. (Here the tablet ends, though the day is not yet finished.)

Comparing this with the simple ceremonies of the cult-inventories, we recognize the same elements: the sacrifices and libation, the cultic feast in which the congregation gets a share of food and drink after it has been blessed by the king, and the

<sup>1</sup> Probably an aromatic substance (Neu, 1970, 69 f.).

<sup>2</sup> Text restored from *KUB* XX, 83, iii, 5-8.

<sup>3</sup> *KUB* II, 5, iii, 25-6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 30: *lar-[ra-an-ci]*.

<sup>5</sup> *KUB* II, 5, iv, 12 = XXV, 1, v, 1 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *KUB* XXV, 1, v, 48 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Hoffner, 1974, 197, 199.

<sup>8</sup> Here *KUB* XXV, 1, iv, 31-5.

<sup>9</sup> *IBOT* I, 20, iv, 10.

<sup>10</sup> *KUB* II, 5, v, 1 ff.



merry-making, now in the form of instrumental and vocal music. But the central act of the ritual, always performed by the king, is called literally 'drinking' the god.<sup>1</sup> In the early days of Hittitology it used to be assumed that in this phrase the verb 'drink' was used in a causative sense 'give to drink', the god being offered drink in the form of a libation (as illustrated on a relief from Malatya, Plate IV). Now comparison with the Old Hittite texts has shown that the phrase is an abbreviation. These old rituals have 'drink the cup of the god', an act usually performed by both the king and queen; the king alone then pours a libation. Later the cup was omitted and the god became the direct object of the verb, just as in these later texts the god occasionally appears as the direct object of the verb *šipant-*. The whole procedure is exactly like the medieval custom by which the host took a sip from the cup before offering it to his guest.

The musical instruments used in these rituals are the *arkammi*, the *galgalturi*, the *huhupal*, the *zinar* (with its two varieties *hunzinar*, and *ippizinar*), the *šawitra* or *šawatar*, and the *mukar*, together with four Sumerograms, GIS <sup>4</sup>INANNA, <sup>60</sup>ŠA.A.TAR, <sup>60</sup>BALAG or BALAG.DI, and GI.GÍD. The GI.GÍD, literally 'long reed', is certainly a kind of flute or pipe, probably the double pipes shown on the monuments (e.g. Plates VI, VIII); and the *šawitra*, which is blown and has the determinative SI (horn) must be the horn (Plate V).<sup>2</sup> The logograms GIS <sup>4</sup>INANNA (translated conventionally 'Ishtar instrument') and <sup>60</sup>ŠA.A.TAR can be found in Akkadian lexical texts and seem to be lyres.<sup>3</sup> Representations of lyres are frequent on the monuments and show several types (e.g. Plates VII, VIII).<sup>4</sup> The Inandik vase in the Ankara Museum shows a very large lyre resting on the ground and played by two musicians, as well as five portable instruments carried in procession as on other reliefs.<sup>5</sup> The texts frequently distinguish a large and a small 'Ishtar instrument', so there is good correspondence between texts and monuments. Laroche has shown that the Hittite word for 'lyre' is *zinar*, *hunzinar* being the large variety and *ippizinar* the small one.<sup>6</sup> These instruments are 'struck', so this verb cannot always be taken to indicate a percussion instrument.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this phrase has now been elucidated by Kammenhuber, 1971.

<sup>2</sup> Other representations of the double pipes; Orthmann, 1971, 'Zincirli F/5'; Akurgal, 1962, pl. 142, from Karatepe. On the horn see Kummel and Stauder, 1975.

<sup>3</sup> *Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexikon*, vi, 119.

<sup>4</sup> Other representations of lyres: Bossert, 1942, no. 810, from Maras; Riemschneider, 1954, pl. 80, from Tell Halaf; Akurgal, 1962, pl. 142, from Karatepe. For Mesopotamian representations see Stauder, 1961 and 1970.

<sup>5</sup> See provisionally Duchêne-Guillemin, 1969, 11.

<sup>6</sup> Laroche, 1955b, 73.

The Sumerogram BALAG originally represented a harp (the sign is clearly recognizable in pictographic form), but it seems to have changed its meaning in the course of time and to have been used for a drum.<sup>1</sup> The latter sense is to be presumed for the Hittite texts, since harps are never shown on the monuments. The Hittite word for this instrument appears to be *arkammi*.<sup>2</sup> Both BALAG (usually BALAG.DI) and *arkammi* are constantly associated with the *galgalturi*; indeed a single singer may use both simultaneously, and they may be played by men and women while running.<sup>3</sup> If the *arkammi* (= BALAG.DI) is a small drum or tambourine, the *galgalturi*, which could be made of copper, but apparently also of wood,<sup>4</sup> could perhaps be the cymbals or clappers.<sup>5</sup> The only word then left for the lute, of which there are many representations (e.g. Plate VI), is *huhupal*.<sup>6</sup> This could be made of wood or of ivory,<sup>7</sup> and in one ritual it is apparently used as a drinking or libation vessel.<sup>8</sup> The *mukar*, which is once found as part of a chariot,<sup>9</sup> together with the whip, and is twice used for summoning a god into his temple,<sup>10</sup> could be a sistrum, such as was found at Horoztepe.<sup>11</sup>

The AN.TAH.SUM festival is the only one of which we have a complete outline, giving a summary of the ceremonies performed on successive days,<sup>12</sup> and here we find a further link with the rural rituals of the cult-inventories. On the fourteenth day in the evening a priest goes to a *tarnu* house in a grove of boxwood

<sup>1</sup> Hartmann, 1960, 52-5. Cf. Stauder, 1975.

<sup>2</sup> Both *arkammi* and BALAG.DI are frequently paired with *galgalturi*, never with each other; cf. Kümmel, 1973b, 174.

<sup>3</sup> In Güterbock, 1952, 32, 1-19, Ishtar picks up the BALAG.DI and the *galgalturi*, sings, and then throws them away. In *KBo* X. 24. iv. 13 (*apud* Kümmel, *ibid.*, 175-6) the *arkammi* and the *galgalturi* are played while running (*hujanter*).

<sup>4</sup> *KUB* X. 89. l. 27; *IBoT* I. 31 rev. 4 (among copper objects); but *GIS-al-Ia-an gal-gal-[u-a-ri]* = 'a *galgalturi* of wood', *KUB* XII. 5. iv. 5, if the restoration is correct. However, one may also question whether the text is in order here; the sentence requires a connecting particle, such as *na'-al-Ia-an*, and 'of wood' should be *GIS-ru-al*, not simply *GIS-al*, e.g. *KUB* VII. 11. i. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Mme Danmanville, who discussed the *galgalturi* and the BALAG.DI (1962, 178-81), proposed 'tambourine' for the former but had no definite suggestion for the latter. Plates VII, VIII appear to show tambourines, to judge from the position of the hands, but the instruments in Akurgal, 1962, pl. 142, look more like cymbals. Cymbals are also apparently depicted on the Bitik vase, Özgüç, 1957, pl. IVb, and cymbals have been found at Horoztepe and elsewhere, Özgüç, 1965, 7-8. A large drum or gong is shown on Plate V. Could this also be denoted by the term BALAG?

<sup>6</sup> Other representations of lutes: Bosert, 1942, no. 948, from Zincirli; no. 833, from Caracemish; no. 808 (fragmentary), from Maraş. A lute of unusual shape is depicted at Alaca Hüyük: Gantang, 1929, pl. XXX; Viciya, 1955, pl. 31; Bosert, no. 505.

<sup>7</sup> *KUB* XXIX. 4. i. 25.

<sup>8</sup> *KUB* XXV. 37. i. 34, where it is filled with wine; cf. Alp, 1940, 70 n. 2 ('ein hohles Schlaginstrument').

<sup>9</sup> *IBoT* I. 36. ii. 12; also with the whip, *KUB* II. 3. ii. 8.

<sup>10</sup> *KBo* II. 4. i. 25; *KUB* XXV. 21. iv. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Akurgal, 1962, pl. 12.

<sup>12</sup> Güterbock, 1960a; 1964, 63 ff.

trees, where there is a *huwaši* stone of the Weather-god, evidently to prepare for the following day, and on the fifteenth day the king joins him there and they slaughter (*huk-*) oxen and sheep at the *huwaši* stone. On the nineteenth day they visit the boxwood trees again and set up cups before the Weather-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, and the king 'sets the race-horses on their course'. We are reminded at once of the sporting and dramatic activities already described. The ritual for the fourteenth and fifteenth days is fairly well preserved and conforms very closely to the pattern already outlined, with libations to the holy places and offerings of bread and meat before the *huwaši* stone.<sup>1</sup> On the second day of the festival, when the king is returning to the capital from Tahurpa, there is a similar performance near a mountain called Tippiwa.<sup>2</sup> Here too, as we learn from the ritual for this day, there was a *huwaši* stone, where the king dismounts and washes himself in a *tarnu* house. He then gets back into his chariot and drives to an 'upper *huwaši* stone'. Here the men of the bodyguard race and whoever wins takes the bridle. The king alights from his chariot, breaks bread, and pours a libation in front of the *huwaši* stone. He then again mounts his chariot and drives into Hattusa by 'the great road'. A footrace is also attested in the KILAM festival: 'ten runners come, and they give a tunic to whoever wins and whoever comes second.'<sup>3</sup>

The Hittite *huwaši* stone has been compared to the biblical *maššēbā* and the Hittite *ištananaš* to the biblical *ashērā*.<sup>4</sup> The *maššēbōt* and *ashērīm* are of course the two cult objects frequently mentioned as standing at the 'high places' or 'hill shrines' (*bāmōt*)<sup>5</sup> of the Canaanites and also in their temples. For example: (2 Chron. 14: 2) He suppressed the foreign altars and the *bāmōt*, smashed the *maššēbōt* and hacked down the *ashērīm*;

<sup>1</sup> CTH 611.

<sup>2</sup> The outline tablet mentions for the second day racing at Mount Tippiwa, bathing in the *tarnu*-house and driving into Hattusa; the previous day the king and queen had been in Tahurpa. All this is described in detail in CTH 594, as pointed out by Güterbock (1960a, 88). CTH 594 is also a festival of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant. It is not clear to me why it should not be the ritual for this day (it is listed by Laroche as a separate festival).

<sup>3</sup> IBoT I. 13 (CTH 627.11); cf. Güterbock 1964, 63 n. 49.

<sup>4</sup> Goetze, 1933, 158 (= 1957, 168).

<sup>5</sup> Vaughan, 1974, has now shown that the word *bāmā*, which originally denoted the ribcage or flank of an animal, was applied, at least by the Israelites to the stone-built cult platforms on which sacrifices were offered and which, though often situated on a hill-top, might equally be in a valley or inside a temple. The connection between the two essentially unrelated concepts is traced by Vaughan to the frequent allusion to God descending on to the *bāmōth* of the earth, properly the 'flanks' of the hills, but interpreted as the cult-platforms where he partook of the sacrificial offerings. The Assyriologist is reminded of the Babylonian Zigurra.

(Deut. 12: 3) You shall pull down their altars and break their *massēbôt*, burn their *ashērīm* and hack down the idols of their gods; (2 Kings 17: 10) They built *bāmôt* for themselves in all their settlements . . . and set up *massēbôt* and *ashērīm* on every high hill and under every spreading tree; (2 Kings 10: 26) They rushed into the keep of the temple of Baal and brought out the *ashērā* (text: *massēbôt*) from the temple of Baal and burnt it, and they pulled down the *massēbā* of Baal and the temple itself. The *massēbā* was certainly a standing stone or stela;<sup>1</sup> it is translated 'pillar' or 'sacred pillar' (*NEB*). The *ashērā* (translated 'grove' in the Authorized Version, following the Septuagint) could indeed be planted (Deut. 16: 21) and burnt, but was also an artefact made by hand (1 Kings 16: 33), it is thought to have been a sacred pole and a symbol of the goddess Ashera.<sup>2</sup> The equation of the *ashērā* with the Hittite *ištananaš* must therefore be rejected, since the *ištananaš* was not a cult-object but a stone altar which could also be used as a support for a statue—a 'cult-stand'.<sup>3</sup> But the similarity of the *massēbā* and the *huwaši* stone is striking. Both are cult objects set up both in temples and in rural shrines, where they are associated with trees. Of the Hebrew and Canaanite ceremonies Robertson Smith wrote:

The ritual observances at a Hebrew and at a Canaanite sanctuary were so similar that to the mass of the people Jehovah worship and Baal worship were not separated by any well-marked line. . . . A sacrifice was a public ceremony of a township or clan. . . . Then the crowds streamed into the sanctuary from all sides, dressed in their gayest attire, marching joyfully to the sound of music, and bearing with them not only the victims appointed for sacrifice, but store of bread and wine to set forth the feast. . . . Universal hilarity prevailed.

Each sentence here is supported by a biblical reference.<sup>4</sup> Like the Hittites, the Hebrews held their principle festivals in the spring and the autumn. There is even a Mishnaic tradition of racing at the autumn festival on the day of Atonement.<sup>5</sup>

Archaeologists are now sceptical whether most of the standing stones discovered at Palestinian sites can be properly interpreted as cult objects.<sup>6</sup> One has, however, recently been found at Arad,<sup>7</sup> and in Anatolia too one has almost certainly been found: the stela with a hieroglyphic inscription excavated in 1947 by Tahsin

<sup>1</sup> Barrois, 1962.

<sup>2</sup> Reed, 1949 and 1962.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 27. The equation with *ashērā* appears to have been suggested by the logogram ZAG.GAR.RA = Akkad. *asīru*; but this too is a socle or pedestal (*CAD*).

<sup>4</sup> Smith, 1901, 254; cf. de Vaux, 1964, 35.

<sup>5</sup> Yoma, II, 1-2; Hooke, 1938, 53.

<sup>6</sup> Barrois, 1962.

<sup>7</sup> Aharoni, 1968, 19; 1969, 31.



Özgüç at Karahöyük (Elbistan), in front of which stood a trough for offerings.<sup>1</sup> Bossert has maintained that other known Hittite monuments were *huwaši* stones, such as Restan, Apameia, Darende, Cekke, Tell Ta'iniyat, and the stela from Babylon, which must originally have been set up at Aleppo.<sup>2</sup> But the argument rests on some dubious etymological speculation. Only the Karahöyük stela is proved to have been a cult-object by its archaeological context.

Another feature of the AN.TAḪ.SUM festival must now be mentioned. On the eleventh day the chief of the palace servants 'carried the year' to the *hešti*-house and the king followed after him. 'He goes and sets the race-horses on their course', just as he did at the boxwood trees on the nineteenth day.<sup>3</sup>

The *hešti*- or *hešti*-house is commonly interpreted as a mausoleum or mortuary temple, because in a text of Hattusili III the phrase *heštiyas pir* 'house of bones' appears as a variant form of the name. But the word *hešti* appears to be Hattic in origin and this late transformation is now considered to be an example of Hittite 'popular etymology'.<sup>4</sup> Rituals of the *hešti*-house are extant, one in Old Hittite, another a late text which is almost certainly the ritual for this eleventh day.<sup>5</sup> They show that it was a temple associated with a group of Hattian chthonic deities, in particular, Lelwani, the ruler of the Underworld, the fate goddesses İstustaya and Papaya, and the 'Lucky Day'.<sup>6</sup> What is meant by 'carrying the year' into the *hešti*-house? Güterbock suggested that at this spring festival the old year was ceremonially laid to rest in the 'mortuary temple' in the form of a hieroglyphic symbol.<sup>7</sup> But if the meaning 'mortuary temple' rests on an insecure basis, this suggestion loses its plausibility.

The *hešti*-house is also the place where Mursili II celebrated the *purulli* festival. He records in his Annals, at the end of his reign:

When it became spring—whereas I had celebrated the *purulli* festival, the great festival, in honour of the Hattian Weather-god and the Weather-god of Zippalanda, but I had not celebrated the *purulli* festival, the great festival, in honour of Lelwani in the *hešti*-house, I therefore came up to Hattusa and celebrated the *purulli* festival, the great festival, in honour of Lelwani in the *hešti*-house.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Özgüç, 1949, pl. x; Bossert, 1952, pl. lxxiv; Darga, 1969, 16 with pls. i, ii.

<sup>2</sup> Bossert, 1952, 514 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Güterbock, 1960a, 86; 1964, 64.

<sup>4</sup> Kammenhuber, 1972, 300; Otten, 1973, 369.

<sup>5</sup> Kammenhuber, 1972, 296 ff.; CTH 645 and 609.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 12 with note 5.

<sup>7</sup> Güterbock, 1964, 67.

<sup>8</sup> Goetze, 1933b, 188 f.

Fragments of the ritual of this festival show that it was particularly associated with the holy city of Nerik;<sup>1</sup> but at this time Nerik was under enemy occupation and the Weather-god of Zippalanda took the place of the Weather-god of Nerik.<sup>2</sup> The Myth of Illuyanka, in which the Weather-god does battle with a dragon and after an initial defeat finally gets the better of him, is the cult myth of this festival and may well have been performed at it. A feature of this festival, at least as celebrated at Nerik, appears to have been a gathering of the gods and a blessing of the new year, recalling the ceremony which formed the climax of the new year festival at Babylon. For in the text which contains the Illuyanka myth we read that the gods of Kastama said to the priest 'When we go to the Weather-god of Nerik, where shall we dwell?'<sup>3</sup> And in a magical text there is the following passage:

For the Weather-god the mighty festival of the beginning of the year, (the festival) of heaven and earth, has arrived. All the gods have gathered and come to the house of the Weather-god. If any god has sorrow in his soul, let him dispel the evil sorrow from his soul. At this festival eat and drink and be satisfied! Pronounce the life of the king and queen! Pronounce [the life] of heaven and earth, [pronounce the life] of the crops!<sup>4</sup>

A still unpublished tablet is said to describe a similar gathering of gods for a festival of Telipinu.<sup>5</sup>

The AN.TAḪ.SUM festival and the *purulli* festival obviously have much in common. Both are celebrated in the spring by the king. The *purulli* festival is called 'the great festival' three times in successive sentences and had thirty-two tablets;<sup>6</sup> the AN.TAḪ.SUM festival is known to have lasted no less than thirty-eight days. The *purulli* festival was celebrated in the *heṣti*-house in honour of Lelwani; this building was visited on the eleventh day of the AN.TAḪ.SUM festival for a ceremony called 'carrying the year'. Whether or not this means 'laying the old year to rest', it could well be the correlative of the divine assembly for blessing the new year which seems to have been part of the *purulli* festival. Were these two spring festivals in some way one and the same? It is difficult to imagine that the king could have officiated at two such lengthy festivals at the same time of year.

<sup>1</sup> Haas, 1970, 43 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Otten, 1956, cf. Gurney, 1958, 108.

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 31 n. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 107.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 46.

<sup>6</sup> No. 2326, quoted by Alp, 1961/2, 226.

The Babylonian new-year festival is also relevant to the Hittite performances at the *huwaši* stone. For on the eighth day, as is well known, the king 'took the hands of Marduk' and led him forth from his temple in a great procession to a building outside the city called the *akītu* house. There it is probable that the main event was a dramatic performance of the fight between Marduk and Tiamat which is the central feature of the Epic of Creation. From the *akītu* house the assembled gods returned to Babylon for the 'fixing of fates'.

Falkenstein has shown that the history of the *akītu* festival goes back to Sumerian times and that it was then celebrated, at least at Ur and Nippur, both in the spring and in the autumn.<sup>1</sup> Jubilation and feasting are mentioned, but there is no further information on the nature of the earlier rites. None the less, if they were in any way similar to the later ones at Babylon and Assur there is a striking parallel to the Hittite procession to the *huwaši* stone. Here, as at Babylon, the god is taken out of his temple, transported to a sacred place outside the city, there is feasting and merry-making, and in some cases at least, a mock battle or a sporting event, which may be wrestling or racing, with victory for the home team. The parallel even extends to the occurrence of virtually identical festivals both in the spring and in the autumn. (The important symbolical and magical implications of the ritual combat for the prosperity of the country in the coming year need not be elaborated, since much has been written on them.)

We return now to the open-air shrine of Yazilikaya. Long ago, before the rituals had been closely studied, it was suggested that Yazilikaya with its processional road was the Hittite *akītu* house, the venue of a festival modelled on a Babylonian prototype.<sup>2</sup> Now that the Hittite counterpart of the *akītu* festivities is seen to be the twice-yearly procession to the *huwaši* stone the question recurs in the form: 'Could Yazilikaya be the *huwaši* stone of Hattusa?' The idea has been supported by reference to the text already quoted in which the king, returning from Tahurpa via Tippiwa, alights from his chariot to pour libations at two *huwaši* stones, before proceeding into the city by the Great Road. Güterbock suggested tentatively in 1953 that these two spots might be identified with Yazilikaya and Büyükkaya respectively.<sup>3</sup> The idea was then taken up by C. W. Carter in his book on the cult inventories on the ground that 'in at least

<sup>1</sup> Falkenstein, 1959.

<sup>2</sup> Reference *apud* Güterbock, 1964, 72 n. 91.

<sup>3</sup> Güterbock, 1953, 76 n. 2.

one instance the *huwaši* stone could be entered'.<sup>1</sup> The passage in question reads: 'The king goes in to the *huwaši* stone of the Weather-god. He pays reverence to the *huwaši* stone.' I do not think that 'in to' here means 'into'. The *huwaši* stone of the Weather-god is elsewhere said to be in a *tarnu* house<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Carter himself cites a parallel passage where by the presence of the additional word *piran* it is made clear that the king goes 'in before' the *huwaši* stone and pays reverence. Apart from this passage there is nothing to suggest that the term *huwaši* could be applied to a major religious complex like Yazilikaya.

An alternative, for which there is more to be said, is that Yazilikaya was a *hešti*-house, or rather the *hešti*-house, since this establishment appears to have been unique.<sup>3</sup> The ritual of the *hešti*-house shows that the place had a gate-house and an inner room, and was also reached by the king in a light chariot by way of a 'great road'. Hattusili III tells us that in the bad times before Suppiluliuma I when Hattusa was sacked, the *hešti*-house was far enough away to escape damage. The *hešti*-house was originally a cult-centre for Hattian Underworld deities, but the later *hešti* ritual reveals that other deities of the Hattian pantheon, such as the Sun-goddess, Mezulla, Inara, Hulla, and Telipinu, were by then associated with them. In view of the completely Hurrian character of the carvings in the main chamber at Yazilikaya, the coincidence with what we know of the *hešti*-house is less striking than Güterbock thought when he first made this suggestion; but perhaps the *hešti* ritual text, late though it is, may date from before the Hurrian revolution of Queen Puduhepa and the execution of the carvings.

When we look at the smaller chamber B, the strong Underworld associations are unmistakable. The huge carving of a sword stuck into the rock and surmounted by a human head, which was for long an enigma, can now be interpreted with the aid of a passage in a magical ritual, where the group of Underworld gods known as the 'Primeval Gods' are fashioned in clay and the text reads: 'He makes them as swords and fixes them in the ground.'<sup>4</sup> The twelve running gods who bring up the rear of the procession in the main chamber are repeated here on the opposite wall, and it cannot be a coincidence that in another text 'the bronze swords of Nergal' and the 'twelve gods of the crossroads' are mentioned together.<sup>5</sup> In crevices leading out of

<sup>1</sup> Carter, 1962.

<sup>2</sup> Passages cited by Darga, 1969, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Otten, 1955, 389 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Otten, 1961b, 122 f., 19-20; cf. Güterbock, 1963, 198.

<sup>5</sup> Güterbock, 1964, 72 n. 91; 1965, 198; and *apud* Bittel, 1975, 191-2.



this chamber and in the small room 'C' behind it animal bones were found, including skeletons of birds, which appear typically in rituals connected with the Underworld.<sup>1</sup> All this is consistent with what we know of the *hešti*-house, though only in a general way.

There is, however, a third alternative. At the end of the chamber the cartouche of Tudhaliya IV is carved on the wall<sup>2</sup> and near it is a stone base which could once have carried his life-size statue. Further back, behind the Sword-god, this same king is shown clasped in the embracing arm of his god Sarruma (Plate II). The king and his god, like the Sword-god and the twelve running gods opposite, all face towards the statue-base and the Tudhaliya cartouche, which thus appear as the focal point of the shrine.<sup>3</sup> Seen in this way, the chamber can only be interpreted as a chapel in honour of the deified Tudhaliya IV. The Hittite king became a god only at his death, and though occasionally the later kings were represented on monuments with divine attributes, this is a far cry from the setting up of a chapel for the worship of a king during his lifetime. We could then identify Yazilikaya, or at least chamber B, with the *hekur* SAG.US—literally 'permanent peak'—which is explicitly said to have been designed as a shrine in honour of Tudhaliya IV in a text of his son, Suppiluliuma II.<sup>4</sup>

The main difficulty in this view lies in the very short time available for the three building phases II, III, and IV.<sup>5</sup> The small chamber was first enclosed as part of the complex in the building of Phase II. Phase III represents the addition of the free-standing pylon. In Phase IV the eastern end of the complex was completely reconstructed on a different axis, related directly to the smaller chamber. Since Suppiluliuma II was the last Hittite king, we should have to suppose that this elaborate temple was built, added to, and partially reconstructed, all within the span of this single reign.

<sup>1</sup> Bittel, 1970, 108 f.; 1975, 53, 61 ff. For sacrifices of birds compare the following passage from the conjuration of the Underworld deities: 'He takes three birds; two birds he sacrifices to the Anunnaki, one to the god of the pit, and he speaks as follows: "Behold, you Primeval Ones! Not for you is ordained ox or sheep. When the Weather-god drove you down to the dark Underworld, he ordained this sacrifice for you"' (Otten, 1961b, 130 ff., 32-8). See Otten ad loc., and Haas and Wilhelm, 1974, 50 ff.

<sup>2</sup> That the cartouche, no. 83, is that of Tudhaliya IV and not that of an earlier namesake, as maintained by Beran, 1965, was proved by Otten, 1967, 226-30. It is, however, in a markedly different style from the cartouches of the same king attached to the reliefs nos. 64 and 81.

<sup>3</sup> Already so interpreted by Bittel, 1941, 139 ff., and Güterbock, 1953, 65.

<sup>4</sup> So Otten, 1963b, 22, and most recently Bittel, 1975, 256.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Güterbock, 1953, 72.

A possible explanation for the partial reconstruction so soon after the first building of the temple is available in the marks of burning which show that it was destroyed by fire. The difficulty can, however, be escaped by supposing, with Otten, that the pedestal and its statue were a later addition by which Suppiluliuma II transformed into a mortuary chapel an already existing shrine embellished with reliefs by Tudhaliya IV.<sup>1</sup> The original purpose of the chamber could then only be conjectured, but it might still be imagined that it had had some minor function in the rituals of the *ḥešti*-house which would be enacted principally in the larger chamber. In this way 'permanent peak'—a topographical term—and the functional designation *ḥešti*-house can perhaps be reconciled as names for a single establishment.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the latest volume (Bittel, 1975), R. Naumann appears to have this solution in mind (pp. 123-4) when he refers to a 'Bedeutungswandel' for chamber B on the death of Tudhaliya IV: during the reign of Tudhaliya IV (Phase II) Yazilikaya would have been 'a temple with two cult-chambers'; after his death (Phase IV) there were two separate temples, with chamber B devoted to 'a special cult'. The solution implies that the reliefs 69-82, dating from the reign of Tudhaliya, are unrelated to the mortuary cult of the dead king (Otten, 1963b, 23; 1967, 240). Bittel, however, still appears to regard chamber B as a unitary design of Suppiluliuma II (pp. 255-6).

<sup>2</sup> V. Haas and M. Wäfler (1974) have recently proposed to see in Yazilikaya a double temple to Teshub and Hebat, corresponding to Temple I in the city, and the scene of the performance of purification rites, such as the 'mouth-washing' ritual called *itkalzi*, which had to be performed outside the city to avoid contamination. The suggestion has been refuted by Güterbock (1975b), who has pointed out that Yazilikaya was as much a temple to be protected from contamination as the great temple within the city and the purification rites were performed out in the country, well away from the sacred precincts.

### III

#### MAGICAL RITUALS

SOME years ago I wrote of the Hittite magical literature that it was not, as in Babylonia, the learned product of the temple schools, but had more the character of a national collection.<sup>1</sup> The contrast is striking. In Babylonia the magical texts are traditional. They take the form of instructions in the second person, the fiction being that they had been dictated by the god Ea to his son Asalluhi. The *āšipu* (or *maš-maš*) priest who carried them out had only to follow his instructions exactly. His own personality was suppressed, and he was at pains to claim divine authority for his incantations by the assertion that they were not his but those of Ea, Asalluhi, Gula, or others. He was a mere agent and his name appears only as copyist or owner of a tablet, never as author. In the scribal catalogue of authors the corpus of rituals for the *āšipu* is ascribed to the god Ea. Lambert has drawn attention to the similar practice in Egypt, where rites and spells were attributed to Thoth. Similarly, in the Old Testament the ritual instructions are communicated to Moses by God.<sup>2</sup>

By contrast, the Hittite magical texts are the personal prescriptions of individuals for use in particular circumstances. The name of the practitioner, with his or her profession and sometimes nationality and the nature of the emergency are stated explicitly in the opening words and in the colophon at the end of the tablet. The text purports to be the actual words of the author, sometimes in the first person, but more often in the third. Only rarely, as we shall see, is an attempt made to lend authority to the rites by attributing them to a higher power. They are simply recorded in the words of the magician and filed away for use as occasion demanded. A large proportion of the practitioners are said to be provincials from outlying parts of the kingdom, especially Kizzuwadna and Arzawa.

The typical exponent of pure 'sympathetic' magic is the so-called 'Old Woman' or 'Wise Woman'. Her profession is generally written with the Sumerogram SU.GI 'old', but the

<sup>1</sup> Gurney, 1941, 58.

<sup>2</sup> Lambert, 1960, 72 f. On the role of the *āšipu* in general see Ritter, 1965.

Hittite term is known to be *hašawaš*, a word which may be connected, or even synonymous, with *hašnupallaš* 'midwife'.<sup>1</sup> Thirteen such women are known by name,<sup>2</sup> but they function as sorceresses in countless rituals in which the name of the author is not preserved, and it is a reasonable assumption that the women who are attested as authors by name only can be counted among their number, which is then raised to thirty-two.<sup>3</sup> I know of only seven rituals whose authors are women of other professions: 3 'midwives', 1 'doctor', 1 'hierodule', 2 'temple singers'.<sup>4</sup>

Against this, we have some thirty-six rituals ascribed to male practitioners. The professions of these men also are usually given in the form of Sumerograms or Akkadograms, but neither *āšipu* nor *maš-maš* is found in this connection. *Āšipu* is confined to rituals written in Akkadian, with the exception of a single occurrence in the Hittite ritual of the substitute king, to which we shall return.<sup>5</sup> Instead, the profession of the male magician is given either simply as 'priest' or, more often, as some form of diviner. I know of thirteen rituals attributed to or performed by priests called AZU or HAL (Akkadian *barū*) and three further rituals attributed to *purapši*-priests, a word which appears to be the Hittite equivalent.<sup>6</sup> Eight such priests are known by

<sup>1</sup> Otten, 1952, 233 f. Kammenhuber, 1959, 70, connects with Palaic *hašawanza*. See now Bin-Nun, 1975, 121 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Annanna, Hebatrarakki, Kuesu, Malli, Mallidunna, Sūalluhi, Susumantiga and Tunnawiya are explicitly so called; Allaidurahi, Ali, Anniwiyani, Mastikka, and Paskuwatti are referred to as *maš-ŠU.GI* in the course of their ritual. References *apud* Laroche, 1966. For Ali see Otten, 1973b.

<sup>3</sup> Ayatama, Ambazzi, Anna, Hantitasso, Hatiya, Huntaritta, IR-nimma, Kali, Kuranna, Kururu, Nikal-uzzi, Ninalla, Belazzi, Tiwiyani, Ummaya, Uruwanda, Wattiti, Zawi, NIG.GA.GUŠKIN (cited by Otten, 1973b, 82), plus the thirteen named in the preceding note.

<sup>4</sup> Midwives: CTH 430 (*hašnupallaš*), 333 and 765 (*maš-ŠA.ZU*), none by name. Doctor (*maš-AZU*): Azzari, author of two rituals mentioned in catalogues. Hierodule (*maš-SUHUR.LAL*): Kuwattalla, part author of CTH 759 and 761. Temple singers: Arsakiti (*kataš*), Kuwanni (*SAL É.DINGIR-LIM*). If *KUB XXX. 60. i. 8* (CTH p. 154) is to be restored [*na-za kar-tin-mi-š-ša [š-pu-an-ti]*], this could be the ritual of Kuwanni, CTH 474, and *maš-ka-at-ra-a-ul* (*ibid.*, line 6) could be the reading of *SAL É.DINGIR-LIM*. On the other hand, the *kataš* woman was certainly a singer (Jakob-Rost, 1959), while *SAL É.DINGIR-LIM* looks more like a general term which might cover this and other professions as well.

<sup>5</sup> Below, p. 58. See Kümmel, 1967, 95 ff. In this text the word appears not only in its original Akkadian form but also as a Hittite loan-word *la-a-š-pi-š* and even with metathesis *la-a-pi-š-iš*.

<sup>6</sup> AZU and HAL are interchangeable (Otten, 1961b, 147) and an AZU may also be called SANGA (e.g. Ammihatna in CTH 471 and 473.1). The following rituals are performed by men of this profession: CTH 400, 430, 446, 471, 473.1, 473.2 (?), 480, 483, 701, 702, 713, and two rituals mentioned in catalogues, CTH p. 160, 14-17, and p. 166, v. 5-7 (assuming that this and 473.2 refer to the same Ammihatna). The Ammihatna, Tulpi(ya), and Mati of CTH 472 (actually two rituals) are described as *purapši*-men of Kizzuwadna/Kummauni; and two *purapši*-men, [M]ati (presumably the same man) and Ammihatna (or Ammihatna?), are the authors of CTH 473.3. If this Ammihatna and this Mati are the same individuals as Ammihatna, priest/diviner of Ishhara of Kizzuwadna, author of CTH 471 and 473.1, and



name from five rituals, three of which have two or three joint authors.<sup>1</sup> Other professions include the 'bird operator' (MUŠEN. DÜ) or augur,<sup>2</sup> the 'doctor' (A.ZU),<sup>3</sup> one *pātīli*-priest,<sup>4</sup> one 'master of the gods',<sup>5</sup> and six 'priests', at least one of whom is elsewhere called a 'diviner'.<sup>6</sup> One ritual (CTH 475) is attributed to Palliya, the king of Kizzuwadna. Twenty other men are also named as authors.

Divination was a well-developed and much practised science at Hattusa, and its exponents were precisely the same three professions: the 'diviner' who was the expert in omens from the liver and entrails, the 'bird-operator' who interpreted the flight of birds,<sup>7</sup> and the 'Old Woman' who specialized in a type of oracle called the KIN which is little understood.<sup>8</sup> The records of divination do not give the names of either the 'diviners' or the 'old women'. Only the 'augurs' are occasionally mentioned by name. The 'diviner's' profession was evidently sufficient authority. Yet when the same persons practised magic, the ritual was a personal document and the practitioners were frequently foreigners. Does this mean that the priests of the college of divination indulged in magic as a part-time activity without official sanction? Certainly Hattusili I is on record as expressing strong disapproval for the activities of the 'old women'.<sup>9</sup>

The purposes for which magic was used were fully described and analysed by Goetze as long ago as 1933 and there is little to be added to his masterly account.<sup>10</sup> The methods of sympathetic magic are familiar. These simple 'analogical' methods could be employed by the Hittites in cathartic rituals almost exclusively because they treated evil for the most part as a physical contamination, not as the result of demonic malevolence.<sup>11</sup> Only

Mati, diviner (AZU) of Hebat (the goddess of Kummanni), author of CTH 702 (with Asnu-nikal and Takuya), *paraḫli*- could be the reading of AZU. But they could be different people and the equation is not proved.

<sup>1</sup> Ammiḫatna, Tulpi(ya), Mati, Ammiyatalla, Asnu-nikal, and Takuya (see p. 45 n. 6); Iriya, author of CTH 400 (= Eriya, KUB XXX. 30. v. 13, CTH p. 167), and Ehal-Teshub, author of a ritual, KUB XXX. 58. ii. 14 (CTH p. 160). 'Ammiḫatna' (whether one person or two) is the author of five different rituals (four mentioned in p. 45 n. 6, and KUB XXX. 30. v. 5-6, CTH p. 166).

<sup>2</sup> Five are named: Huwari, Maddunani, Dandanku, [...]-banippi and [...]-urru. See now Archi, 1975, 129 for the terms used for this profession.

<sup>3</sup> Hutupi (CTH p. 154, 20) and Zarpiya. Cf. Otten and Souček, 1969, 105 n. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Papanikri.

<sup>5</sup> Ammiḫatna, the diviner (see p. 45 n. 6); Ari-Teshub, Ilima-abi, Ulippi, Kantuzzili (chief priest and prince, KUB XXX. 56. iii. 7, CTH p. 181), and one unnamed, KUB XXX. 57. i. 7 (CTH p. 157).

<sup>6</sup> Fully treated by Archi, 1974.

<sup>7</sup> Goetze, 1933a, 141 ff., = 1957, 151 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Performer of CTH 422.

<sup>9</sup> Now fully treated by Archi, 1975.

<sup>10</sup> See now Bin-Nun, 1975, 120 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Gurney, 1941, 58; Kümmel, 1973a, 83 f.

where a god was thought to be involved was it necessary to combine them with methods proper to religion, such as prayer and sacrifice. Such composite rituals are usually performed by the male practitioners.

In this lecture I propose to deal in detail with the 'scapegoat' and other 'substitute' rituals, and secondly with the mortuary ritual for the king, which is a peculiar amalgam of magic and religion.

### *The Scapegoat*

I have chosen the scapegoat motif because of its relevance to the well-known passage from Leviticus 16. On the Day of Atonement Aaron is instructed to take two goats and to cast lots. One goat is to be offered to the Lord for a sin offering, but the goat on which the lot falls 'for Azazel' (*RV*) is to be presented alive to make an atonement and to let it go 'for Azazel' into the wilderness. Aaron is to lay both hands on the head of the goat, confess over it all the sins of the Israelites, putting them upon the head of the goat, and to send it away into the wilderness in charge of a man who is waiting ready. 'The goat shall carry all their iniquities upon itself into some barren waste and the man shall let it go, there in the wilderness.'

The words 'for Azazel' are rendered in the Authorized Version 'for a scapegoat' and in the New English Bible (reflecting the views of Sir Godfrey Driver)<sup>1</sup> 'for (or to) the Precipice'. Most modern commentators, however, appear to regard Azazel as the name of a demon inhabiting the desert. T. H. Gaster has objected to this view that no known scapegoat ritual describes the animal as offered to a demon.<sup>2</sup> The Hittite evidence may be of some relevance here. It has, moreover, been discussed in recent years by Nadia van Brock and Hans Martin Kümmel.<sup>3</sup> The latter especially has presented a number of new texts and has put the whole question in a new light.

The Levitical ritual is a sublimated form of what is basically a purely magical procedure. As Frazer wrote in *The Golden Bough*:

The notion that we can transfer our guilt and sufferings to some other being who will then bear them for us . . . arises from the very obvious confusion between the physical and the mental, between the material and the immaterial. Because it is possible to shift a load of wood, stones or what not, from our own back to the back of another, the savage

<sup>1</sup> Driver, 1956, 97 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Gaster, 1962.

<sup>3</sup> Van Brock, 1959; Kümmel, 1967 and 1968.

fancies that it is equally possible to shift the burdens of his pains and sorrows to another who will suffer them in his stead.

In its primitive form the device is free from the ethical element of sin. What is transferred is simply 'evil', usually in fact an illness. The process of transference is effected, on the principle of 'contagious magic', simply by the physical touch of the patient, for which the priest or other officiant later acts as intermediary. In Hittite we meet this procedure at various stages of sophistication.

The first to draw attention to a Hittite scapegoat ritual was A. H. Sayce, who gave a tentative translation in the *Expository Times* in 1919.<sup>1</sup> As now understood, the passage runs as follows:

If people are dying in the country, and if some enemy god has caused it, I act as follows. They drive up one ram. They twine together blue wool, red wool, green wool, black wool, and white wool, make it into a wreath and crown the ram with it. This ram they drive on to the road leading to the enemy and speak as follows: 'Whatever god of the enemy land has caused this pestilence—see! We have now driven up this crowned ram to pacify thee, O god. Just as the herd is strong and keeps peace with the ram, do thou, O god, who has caused this pestilence, keep peace with the Hatti Land.' And they drive that crowned ram towards the enemy.<sup>2</sup>

This is the prescription of one Uhhamuwa, a man of Arzawa. Very similar is one of the prescriptions in the ritual of Pulisa:

If the king has been fighting the enemy and returns from the enemy country and out of the enemy country a pestilence comes and afflicts the people—they drive in a bull and a ewe—these are both from the enemy country—they decorate the bull's ears with ear-rings and (fasten on it) red wool, green wool, black wool, and white wool, and they say: 'Whatever has made the king red, green, black, or white shall go back to the enemy country.' . . . He also says: 'Whatever god of the enemy country has caused this pestilence if it be a male god, I have given thee a lusty, decorated bull with ear-rings. Be thou content with it. This bull shall take back the pestilence to the enemy country.' And he does the same with a decorated ewe if it be a female deity.<sup>3</sup>

Another prescription of the same kind for the same purpose, though rather more elaborate, is that of Askhella, a man of Hapalla, which is inscribed on the same tablet as the ritual of Uhhamuwa.

<sup>1</sup> Sayce, 1919.

<sup>2</sup> CTH 410, translated by Goetze, *ANET* 347. Miss Szabó, 1971, 98, has misread the text of line 49.

<sup>3</sup> CTH 407, translated by Kümmel, 1967, 111 ff.

When evening comes, whoever the army commanders are, each of them prepares a ram—whether it is a white ram or a black ram does not matter at all. Then I twine a cord of white wool, red wool, and green wool, and the officer twists it together, and I bring a necklace, a ring, and a chalcedony stone and I hang them on the ram's neck and horns, and at night they tie them in front of the tents and say: 'Whatever deity is prowling about(?), whatever deity has caused this pestilence, now I have tied up these rams for you, be appeased!' And in the morning I drive them out to the plain, and with each ram they take 1 jug of beer, 1 loaf, and 1 cup of milk(?). Then in front of the king's tent he makes a finely dressed woman sit and puts with her a jar of beer and 3 loaves. Then the officers lay their hands on the rams and say: 'Whatever deity has caused this pestilence, now see! These rams are standing here and they are very fat in liver, heart, and loins. Let human flesh be hateful to him, let him be appeased by these rams. And the officers point at the rams and the king points at the decorated woman, and the rams and the woman carry the loaves and the beer through the army and they chase them out to the plain. And they go running on to the enemy's frontier without coming to any place of ours, and the people say: 'Look! Whatever illness there was among men, oxen, sheep, horses, mules, and donkeys in this camp, these rams and this woman have carried it away from the camp. And the country that finds them shall take over this evil pestilence.'

In these three examples the animal serves a double purpose. It carries away the infection into a foreign country, and at the same time it is offered to the hostile deity as a substitute for human flesh. The first is pure analogical magic, as described by Frazer; the infection is transferred to the animal by the laying on of hands in the Askhella ritual and by the symbolical tying of coloured wool in all three. Whether the second idea is also purely magical because—as Kümmel maintains<sup>2</sup>—the numen is under compulsion through the performance of the rite to accept the substitute, is questionable. At least a *prayer* is addressed to the deity, which seems to imply an element of religion. At all events, these three rituals provide a possible parallel to the dispatch of the Biblical scapegoat 'to Azazel', if this word is indeed the name of a demon.

Much simpler, but still combined with a prayer, is the ritual of Dandanku the augur:

They drive in a donkey—if it is a poor man, they make one of clay—and they turn its face to the enemy country and say: 'Thou, Yarri, hast inflicted evil on this country and its army. Let this donkey lift it and carry it into the enemy country.'

<sup>1</sup> CTH 394, translated by Friedrich, 1925, 11 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Kümmel, 1967, 4.

<sup>3</sup> CTH 425b, iii. 11–18.



Yarri, as mentioned in the first lecture, was a Luwian deity of pestilence. But this donkey is apparently nothing but a carrier and is not intended to propitiate him. Evidently, Dandanku thought it sufficient to head the animal in the right direction and pronounce the spell, if a clay donkey would do as well as a real one.

In the ritual of a woman named Ambazzi we see the magical performance in all its basic simplicity:

She (the Old Woman) wraps up a small piece of tin in a bowstring and attaches it to the patients' right hands and feet; then she takes it off again and attaches it to a mouse, saying: 'I have taken the evil off you and attached it to this mouse. Let this mouse carry it on a long journey to the high mountains, hills and dales.'<sup>1</sup>

This ritual is combined with other rites in which the purpose is to appease a demon named Alawaimi, but in this particular section the magical action stands alone.

In the ritual of Huwarlu a puppy is used in a similar way:

They take a live puppy and wave it over the king and queen, also in the palace the Old Woman waves it about, and she says: 'Whatever evil thing is in the body of the king and queen and in the palace, now see! . . . It has vanquished it. Let it carry away the evil thing and bring it to the place that the gods have appointed.' Then they take away the live puppy.<sup>2</sup>

From a ritual of the city of Samuha (the name of the practitioner is not preserved) we learn the technical word for such a scapegoat or animal carrier, the purpose of the ritual being to remove from the king defilement caused by curses:

As a *nakkušši* for the king he introduces [an ox(?), and as *nakkušši*] for the queen's implements he introduces a cow, a ewe, and a goat, and while doing this he speaks as follows: 'Whatever evil oath, curse, and uncleanness have been committed before the god, these *nakkuššes* shall carry them away from before the god. Let god and patient be cleansed from that utterance.'<sup>3</sup>

The fate of these animals is not described on this tablet, but the ritual probably continued on another.

<sup>1</sup> CTH 391, ii. 34-40, translated by Goetze, *ANET* 348.

<sup>2</sup> CTH 398, ii. 5 ff., translated by Kronasser, 1961/1962.

<sup>3</sup> CTH 480, rev. 58-62, translated by Goetze, *ANET* 346. Goetze assumes that this ritual is performed by the Old Woman and that she speaks the charms, but the colophon states that it is performed by Diviners (*iš-meš-ĀZU*).

Again, in a ritual of Mastikka of Kummanni occurs the following:

Let the *nakkušši* carry off the sin, the anger, and the tears of the patient.<sup>1</sup>

And in the better-known ritual of this practitioner, which is directed against domestic quarrels:

They bring in a sheep and he calls it a *nakkušši*. The Old Woman presents it to the Sun-god and says: 'O Sun-god, here is a *nakkušši* for them with mouth and tongue.' And she consecrates the sheep . . . but they do not kill it. The Old Woman takes it.<sup>2</sup>

Other passages about the *nakkušši* are mutilated and lack the final sentences describing its function as a carrier. They reveal, however, that not only animals and birds, but also human beings could be used as *nakkušši*. The woman used in the Askhella ritual is by no means exceptional.

The word is derived from a Hurrian root *nakk-* meaning 'let go, dispatch',<sup>3</sup> and must have reached the Hittites, like most Hurrian terms, from Kizzuwadna. Most of the texts quoted have connections either with Kizzuwadna or with countries further west, such as Arzawa and Hapalla. It seems that the idea of a living carrier to transport the evil away from the community was at home in Syria and the west. It does not occur in this pure form in Babylonia.<sup>4</sup>

That the *nakkušši* is normally a living creature follows from the nature of the concept. But in ancient times there was one inanimate vehicle which could move on its own like a living creature: a boat. And indeed there is an example in which a boat is used in exactly this way. It occurs in the ritual of Samuha, which, as already mentioned, is to remove 'evil words, oaths, and curses which have been uttered before a god'.

They make a basin . . . and from the basin they build a small channel leading to the river. Into it they put a boat lined with a little silver and gold. They also make little oaths and curses of silver and gold and place them in the boat. Then the channel which empties the basin carries the boat from the basin into the river. When it disappears he pours out a little fine oil and honey and says: 'Just as the river has carried away the boat and no trace of it can be found any more—whoever has committed evil word, oath, curse and uncleanness in the

<sup>1</sup> CTH 405, unpublished duplicate 23/g (Kümmel, 1967, 20), cited by van Brock, 1959, 129; cf. also Rost, 1953, 377.

<sup>2</sup> CTH 404, = Rost, 1953, 361, 38-41. Translated by Goetze, *ANET* 351.

<sup>3</sup> Van Brock, 1959, 132 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Kümmel, 1967, 191-8.

presence of the god—even so let the river carry them away. And just as no trace of the boat can be found any more, let evil word not exist for my god, neither let it exist for the sacrificer's person. Let god and patient be free of that thing.<sup>1</sup>

The word *nakkušši* is not applied to this boat, as it is for the animals later in the ritual, probably because the spell pronounced by the sorcerer puts it into the category of ordinary analogical magic ('just as this boat has disappeared, so may the curses disappear'). Yet the boat is used in precisely the same way as Ambazzi's mouse, even to the detail of transporting the evil in the form of small pieces of precious metal, and it must surely be regarded as originally identical in function.

### *The Substitute*

The word *nakkušši* has commonly been translated 'substitute', but this is not strictly correct. 'Carrier' and 'substitute' are two different concepts. The Hittite word for 'substitute' is *tarpalli* or *tarpaššaš*—in which Miss van Brock proposes to see the origin of Greek *ἑρπῆρων*, the 'alter ego' of the Homeric heroes.<sup>2</sup> This is the equivalent of the Akkadian *pūhu*, from which there is a Hurrian loan-word *pūhugari*, also used occasionally in Hittite contexts.

Strictly speaking, the magical rite for the *nakkušši* consists of transferring to it the evil or impurity which is afflicting the patient; for the substitute it lies in a symbolical act identifying the substitute with the patient. The function of the *nakkušši* is to be 'let go'; that of the *tarpalli* is to be offered in place of the patient to the numen who is thought to be attacking him. But the distinction between the two conceptions sometimes becomes blurred. In the ritual of Askhella, as we have seen, the scapegoat is treated as both a carrier and a substitute at the same time. Similarly in the Mastikka ritual, from which I have quoted a section about a sheep called a *nakkušši*, we find other animals called *tarpalleš* which are treated in both ways simultaneously:

They drive up a sheep. The Old Woman presents it to the two patients (who have quarrelled) and says: 'Here is your *tarpalli*, it shall be a *tarpalli* for your bodies. The curses are in its mouth, in its tongue.' And they spit into its mouth. Then she says: 'You have spat out the wicked curses.' Then they dig the earth and slaughter the sheep down into it. They lower it in, put down a sweet loaf for it, pour a libation, and cover it over.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 50 n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit. 126.

She takes a little dog, waves it over the two patients and says: 'This is a *tarballi* for your whole body.' They spit into its mouth. Then she says: 'You have spat out the curses of that day.' Then they kill the little dog and bury it.<sup>1</sup>

From the Old Kingdom there is an example in the ritual for the royal pair, in which the king and queen spit on the substitutes and into a vessel and these are then buried.<sup>2</sup>

By the act of spitting, as the spell makes clear, the animal is made into a carrier, but it is not called a *nakkušši* because it is not 'let go' but is slaughtered and buried. The purpose here is to banish the evil to the Nether World and ensure that it stays there. To dig a hole in the ground is to open a communication with the Nether World. There are several Hittite rituals in which a hole is dug for the purpose of luring the infernal spirits up out of the pit. The word for such a hole is *api*, and it has been shown by Vieyra and Hoffner that the Hebrew 'ōḥ is a cognate word, denoting not the necromancer nor the spirits and ghosts he consulted, but the hole in the ground from which they issued, thus confirming a suggestion first made by C. J. Gadd in his Schweich Lectures for 1945.<sup>3</sup> The present ritual uses the hole for the opposite purpose. The hole is covered over, just as it is sealed up after the spirits have returned down below, having served the purpose of the necromancer, to prevent them from returning to the earth. From mythological texts we learn that down in the Underworld there were bronze urns or bins into which all kinds of evil could be packed and sealed down with lids of lead.<sup>4</sup> But the buried animal with its load of curses is at the same time a substitute for the body of the client which was previously infected by them. A reference to the god Antaliya earlier in the ritual may be an indication that the animal was

<sup>1</sup> CTH 404, = Rost, 1953, 354, ii. 26-34, and 359, iii. 14-16.

<sup>2</sup> Otten and Souček, 1969, see index s.v. *allapaḥ-* and *ḥarija-*. Many points in this early text remain obscure. Cf. Haas and Wilhelm, 1974, 47-8.

<sup>3</sup> Gadd, 1948, 89; Vieyra, 1957, 100; 1961, 47-55; Hoffner, 1967a.

<sup>4</sup> This 'mythologeme' occurs in the Telpinu myth, CTH 324, 1st version (RHA 77, 97, 15-17) and 2nd version (ibid. 103 f., 7-9), in the myth of the disappearance of the Weather-god, CTH 325 (ibid. 118, 6-8), in the myth of the Weather-god at Lihzina, CTH 331 (ibid. 130, 9 ff.), and in the myth of the disappearance of <sup>a</sup>MAH, CTH 334 (ibid. 139, 5-7). In most of these passages the *palhi* vessels are down in the Underworld, but in CTH 331 they are in the sea, while in the magical ritual of Hutuši, CTH 732, a similar vessel stands on or by a pyre and is similarly used for disposing of rubbish. A cup (*zeri*) with a leaden lid serves the same purpose in Otten and Souček, 1969, 38. iv. 35. Hoffner, 1968a, 65 f., compares Zech. 5: 7-8, where a figure representing wickedness is confined in a container with a leaden lid. I do not know of any evidence that these *palhi* vessels were 'cauldrons', i.e. vessels for boiling liquids. In the Illuyanka Myth they are vats containing beer and wine. Cf. ANET 128; Otten, 1958a, 141; Otten and von Soden, 1968, 30; Vieyra, 1965, 129; Hoffner, 1973, 217-18 and 227 n. 12.



regarded as an offering to him, though he is not the cause of the trouble.<sup>1</sup>

The substitute may be identified verbally with the patient, part by part.<sup>2</sup> This is a practice well attested in the Babylonian magical texts, and it is found in Hittite mainly in rituals of Luwian origin which may have come to Hattusa via Kizzuwadna, but ultimately from Mesopotamia. The body parts are conventionally counted as twelve, but the number actually enumerated is erratic. Thus it is said of a sheep:

Its head represents his head. Its forehead represents his forehead. Its nose represents his nose. Its mouth represents his mouth. Its throat represents his throat. Its lung represents his lung. Its genitals represent his genitals.<sup>3</sup>

A similar passage for a ram, enumerating eighteen bodily parts, ends as follows:

His twelve bodily parts I have prepared. Now see, the bodily parts of the ram shall summon forth the sickness of the man's parts.<sup>4</sup>

Another passage, in which the substitute is probably an effigy, enumerates the figure, the head, the nose, the eyes, the ears, the mouth, the tongue, the throat, the neck, the back, the arm, the chest, the heart, the liver, the lung, the shoulder, the genitals, the stomach, the penis, the thighs, the knees, and the toes—twenty-two parts in all.<sup>5</sup>

It is characteristic of these Luwian texts that divine authority is claimed for the ritual by a piece of mythology attributing it to the goddess Kamrusepa. In one such text the purification is effected by combing:

The Sun-god and Kamrusepa are combing sheep. They are vying with each other and wrangling. Then Kamrusepa placed an iron chair and put on it a wool-comb of lead. They combed a pure kid. They scrubbed(?) it and washed it. . . . They had it for the purpose of treating the man. They are treating the twelve bodily parts of the man.<sup>6</sup>

In the myth of the missing god, Telipinu, the same goddess makes use of sheep from the herd of the Sun-god to charm away the anger of the god. The use of this 'mythologeme' here gives the text a Luwian colouring.

More commonly the substitute is identified with the patient simply by waving it over him, as in the Mastikka ritual. If it is

<sup>1</sup> Rost, 1953, 351, i. 34, with note p. 371.

<sup>2</sup> *KBo.* VIII. 73; Haas, 1971, 423.

<sup>3</sup> *KUB* XLIII. 53, i. 1 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Haas, 1971, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> *KUB* IX. 34, ii. 35-7.

<sup>6</sup> *KUB* XII. 26, ii. 7-10; Haas, 1971, 423-4.

an effigy or another human being, it may be dressed up in his clothes. Once it is a 'pot', which Kümmel suggests may have been a 'face vase'.<sup>1</sup>

The function of the substitute is—as S. H. Hooke put it—to act as a lightning conductor by diverting the divine wrath away from the threatened victim.<sup>2</sup> If the patient is sick, there is a potential threat of death, and if no other deity is known to be the cause, the substitute is offered to the Queen of the Underworld, in accordance with the belief first attested in the Sumerian myth of the Descent of Inanna, that a victim once claimed by the Underworld can only be rescued by the provision of a substitute.<sup>3</sup> The wife of Mursili II, Gassuliyawiya, suffered from a mortal illness, and we have a prayer in which she tells how she dispatched a woman as *tarpalli* to Lelwani (here the old Hattian god, not a goddess):

If thou, O god, my lord, art seeking ill of me . . . , this (woman) (shall be) my substitute (*tarpassa*). I am presenting her to thee in fine attire. Compared to me she is excellent, she is pure, she is brilliant, she is white, she is decked out with everything. Now, O god, my lord, look well on her. Let this woman stand before the god, my lord.<sup>4</sup>

The actual fate of this female substitute is unfortunately lost in a lacuna. Later in the text other substitutes prepared by Gassuliyawiya, presumably effigies, are apparently burned.

Mursili II himself provides another example. In a text resembling a royal edict the king tells us that he suffered from some form of aphasia, apparently brought on by a thunderstorm.<sup>5</sup> When the trouble persisted, he consulted the diviners and was informed—not surprisingly—that it was due to the anger of the Weather-god. The prescribed cure was the dispatch of a substitute-ox to the temple of the Weather-god at Kummanni, accompanied by a ritual couched in the typical Hurrian terminology of Kizzuwadna. Here the term used for the substitute is the Hurrian word *puhugari*. On arrival at the temple the animal is to be presented to the god and burned, together with some birds. If it should happen to die on the long journey, another animal must be substituted and burned in its place. An ox was duly selected and decorated, identified with the king by the laying on of his hands, and dispatched to Kummanni. The text does not reveal whether the king was cured.

<sup>1</sup> Rost, 1953, 364, iv. 9 ff.; cf. Kümmel, 1967, 21 n. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Hooke, 1952, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Kramer, 1969, 116-17.

<sup>4</sup> CTH 380, obv. 10 ff. (Kümmel, 1967, 120 f.). Cf. Otten, 1950, 128.

<sup>5</sup> Goetze, 1934.

We may note in passing the practice of burning the substitute—at least the substitute for the king and queen. The same practice is found in another ritual, unfortunately fragmentary.<sup>1</sup> The text just quoted appears to specify this as a method of offering to the god, not merely as an effective form of destruction. The sacrifice of birds, as already remarked, is associated with the Underworld.<sup>2</sup> But why are they burned? Kümmel has raised the interesting question whether there is a connection with the West Semitic burnt offering or holocaust, Hebrew *'ôlâh*, which cannot be ruled out.<sup>3</sup>

The most notable example of the use of the *tarpalli* substitute is in the ritual of the substitute king, of which we now have two versions edited by Dr. Kümmel. Here the threat of death arises from an omen or an oracle.

The beginning of the first text is lost. It sets in at a point where the king is praying to the Moon-god:

'Now, in the matter about which I have come before thee, hear me, O Moon-god, my lord. Since thou, Moon-god, hast given me a sign, lest thou wert signalling evil thereby, see! I have appointed substitutes (*tarpallius*) in my place. Now take these (but let me go free).' Then they drive a live bull up on to the high place of the Moon-god and they consecrate it up there on the high place.

The following lines are mutilated, but it is clear that the bull is killed and (once again) burnt, allegedly because the Moon-god had wished to see (not smell!) the smoke of the king's funeral.<sup>4</sup> The king prays: 'Let these substitutes die, but I will not die.' When the text sets in again, there is reference to an effigy and then a prisoner of war is introduced:

They anoint the prisoner with the fine oil of kingship, and the king says: 'See, this is the king. I have given him the name of kingship, have clothed him in the garment of kingship, have set the crown on his head. Now, evil omen, short years, short days, recognize him! Go after this substitute!' Then he departs to the city. . . . Then they bring an officer to the prisoner and he takes him back to his own country.

<sup>1</sup> KUB VII. 10 (Kümmel, 1967, 129 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 42 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Kümmel, 1967, 23 f. Kümmel considers only the *'ôlâ*, but it may be noted that the *ôlêh*, the portion of the communion sacrifice offered to Yahweh 'for a sweet savour', is also regularly burned (e.g. Lev. 3: 5). In the ritual of Zarpiya quoted above (p. 30) the god's portion is cooked (roasted?) with fire.

<sup>4</sup> In a parallel text (Kümmel, p. 37) a substitute bull is clearly burned and the smoke is seen by the Sun-god of Heaven.

This passage has long been known as the only evidence we have for the procedure at a king's coronation.<sup>1</sup> It happens also to be the only text where the final fate of the substitute king is preserved, and here he is rather unexpectedly dispatched abroad like a *nakkušši*.

The text continues with a ritual of sacrifice. The king offers sheep to the Sun-god (probably the 'Sun-goddess of Earth' is intended<sup>2</sup>—the text seems to be in disorder here),<sup>3</sup> the Moon-god and Lelwani, each time praying that the god will accept the *tarpalli* and let him go free. In each of these prayers there is a reference to the infernal deities, in whose power he has been placed by the evil omen. The end of the text is again lost.

The second ritual has a well-preserved colophon stating its purpose:

If death is predicted for the king, whether he sees it in a dream or it is made known to him by divination from the entrails or by augury, or if some omen of death occurs in front of him, this is the ritual for it.

The beginning is again missing, but we have the last few words of the robing of the prisoner of war. The text then continues:

Then, they construct in a separate place a hut and in it a wooden effigy with eyes of gold and ear-rings of gold. They dress it in royal robes and a spare set of robes is laid aside for it [there follows a list of garments, etc.]. They set up 2 tables, right and left, and 7 loaves on the table, right and left. They set 7 loaves twice daily for it and daily they sacrifice a sheep for it; the king eats some (of it) daily and they bring food daily to the effigy. But when they bring it, no one sees it; they cover it over and so place it before the effigy.

Then the king says: 'This is the living supernal substitute for me, and this effigy is the infernal substitute for me. If you, heavenly gods, have afflicted me with evil or shortened my days, months, or years, this living substitute man shall stand in my place; mark him well, O heavenly gods. But if the Sun-goddess of the Underworld and the infernal gods have afflicted me, then this effigy shall stand in my place; mark it well, O infernal gods.' The king sits down.

Then they bring the prisoner in. . . . He says to the king: 'Leave the palace!' The king answers: 'I will go.' . . . When he has uttered these words, he goes down from the palace and no one speaks his name any more. . . . If anyone comes up into the city, people do not say 'The city

<sup>1</sup> Goetze, 1933, 84 n. 2; Vieyra, 1939, 126 ff.; Gurney, 1958, 118. Kümmel has a full discussion of the evidence for the Hittite coronation ceremony (pp. 43-9).

<sup>2</sup> On this title see above, p. 5, and Laroche, 1974.

<sup>3</sup> Kümmel, p. 34.



in which the real king is'—not so (but) 'The city in which the new king is, that is where the king is.' And the king kneels daily before the Sun-god of heaven in the early morning and prays: 'Sun-god of heaven, my lord, what have I done? Thou hast taken the throne away from me and given it to another. . . . Thou hast summoned me to the shades. But I have appeared before thee, Sun-god of heaven. Release me from the realm of the shades.'

Then they perform the royal ritual for the new king. They serve him with food and drink, his bed is placed in the bedroom, the chamberlains watch over him at night, . . . he sits down in the place where the true king sits. But on the seventh day—

and here the single sign that is preserved can hardly be anything but the beginning of the word for 'he dies'.<sup>1</sup> The rest of this text is badly mutilated, and we do not learn what happens to the effigy, the 'infernal substitute'. But even the 'supernal substitute' is apparently put to death. That the prisoner in the first ritual is merely sent away to his own country is surely out of line with the role of the *tarpalli* and looks like a case of contamination with the *nakkušši* ritual. There is a similar confusion in the ritual of Pulisa where a prisoner of war is treated in just this way but is called *PUHISU* 'substitute',<sup>2</sup> although the ritual is concerned, not with the king, but with an epidemic among the people, and is followed immediately by the *nakkušši* ritual quoted earlier.

It need hardly be said that the Hittite rituals of the substitute king are closely parallel to what is known of this custom in Mesopotamia. There too the installation of a substitute king was normally for the purpose of averting an evil omen. As W. G. Lambert writes: 'It is clear that when an eclipse occurred which, according to the omen texts, should have resulted in the king's death, a substitute was temporarily put on the throne to die in place of the real monarch, who was thus saved.'<sup>3</sup> This is exactly what we find in the Hittite texts. They provide, moreover, welcome amplification of our knowledge of the ritual which is only preserved as a mutilated fragment in the Babylonian literature. Indeed the occurrence in these texts of many Akkadian terms which occur nowhere else in Hittite, such as *āšipu* for the exorcist, gives rise to the suspicion that they go back ultimately to Babylonian originals.

<sup>1</sup> Kummel, pp. 93-4, restores a-[ki].

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 111 ff., with commentary p. 81 on the peculiar use of *PU-UH-SU*, *PU-HI-SU*, pl. *PU-UH-SU*<sup>95A</sup>, *PU-UH-SI*<sup>95A</sup>, in place of the simple *PUHU*.

<sup>3</sup> Lambert, 1957b, 109.

*Funerary Ritual*

We turn now from the magical rituals of substitution designed to preserve the life of the king to the elaborate funerary rites which were performed when he actually died. Here again, not unnaturally, the Nether World and the chthonic powers are constantly in mind and effigies or 'infernal substitutes' play a prominent part. This fourteen-day ritual has been partly reconstructed by H. Otten out of many fragments, but unfortunately there are still large gaps and many details are scarcely intelligible.<sup>1</sup> It is placed by Laroche in his *Catalogue* in the category of magical rituals, and indeed the Old Woman and her magical practices constantly recur throughout it. These practices, however, are here combined with rites typical of the temple cult, such as 'drinking to' various gods and to the soul of the deceased, and many passages describing the performance of the musicians are indistinguishable from passages in the festival rituals.

The main ritual, to which most of the fragments appear to belong, is entitled 'If in Hattusa a great calamity happens, (namely) either the king or the queen becomes a god'. The word here translated 'calamity' is *wastaiš*, normally 'sin', which obviously has overtones difficult to indicate in an English rendering. The death of the king or queen seems to have been regarded as a violation of the divine order of things. As is now well known, these texts, and the concurrent discovery of urns buried among the rocks at Osmanakaya near the capital,<sup>2</sup> revealed that Hittite kings were cremated. The actual cremation is unfortunately not preserved, but it must have taken place during the second night. There is a fragment from the very beginning of the ritual: they slaughter an ox at the dead man's head and pronounce the words 'Let down your soul into this ox'. A libation is poured to the soul, and a goat is waved over the body. Presumably the ox and the goat are regarded as substitutes, either to be buried and sealed down, like Mastikka's animals, or perhaps to be burned, but the text breaks off and the continuation is mutilated. Night falls, and the rites for the following day include the offering of food and drink to the dead. It seems that this is counted as the first day.

When the second day dawns, the cremation is already completed. At first light women come and quench the fire and collect

<sup>1</sup> Otten, 1958a, 1958b, and 1962; Laroche, 1961; Christmann-Franck, 1971; *CTH* 450.

<sup>2</sup> Bittel, 1958.

the bones in a silver vessel (*lappa*)—note the frequent use of silver as the metal of purity.<sup>1</sup> They soak them in oil, wrap them in linen cloths and place them on a chair (if it be a man) or a stool (if a woman). A table is set, the women eat and drink to the soul of the dead. Now a human figure is made out of figs, raisins, and olives, placed on the pyre and filled with food and drink, apparently for the purpose of attracting the spirit of the dead into it.

There follows a strange piece of dialogue between two 'Old Women' involving the symbolic use of a balance:

The Old Woman takes a balance. Into one scale she puts gold, silver, and all kinds of precious stones. Into the other she puts mortar (mud). The Old Woman says to her companion—indicating the deceased by name: 'Who is going to "bring" So-and-so?' And her companion answers: 'The Hittites, the *uruhha*-men, will "bring" him.' But the first one says: 'They shall not "bring" him.' Her companion answers: 'Take the silver and the gold!' But she says: 'I will not take it.' She says this three times. And at the third time the first one(?) says: 'I will take the mortar.'<sup>2</sup> Then she breaks the balance and [lays(?)] it in front of the Sun-god. . . .

It seems that the balance is not, as in ancient Egypt, the symbol of rectitude but rather the instrument typifying a market transaction. The silver, gold, and precious stones are the price; the mud presumably represents the deceased person. The closest parallel is a passage, unfortunately badly damaged, from a ritual of exorcism, where the words specifying the contents of the second scale are lost:<sup>3</sup>

She pours silver, gold, and precious stones . . . on a balance and opposite to [. . .] they weigh six times, and they speak as follows: 'Sun-god [of blood] and Weather-god, behold! The master, with his wife and children [is weighed(?)] for you. Be appeased!'

This, surely, can only mean that the price is paid, the sinners are redeemed.<sup>4</sup> In the funerary ritual something similar is to be expected. Perhaps the dead person is imagined as being offered for sale to the *uruhha*-men (whoever they may be); but their price is refused, he is redeemed.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Haas and Wilhelm, 1974, 38 f.

<sup>2</sup> Reading *fai-u-i-na-an-ua-zu* (Otten, 1962, 231), a correction missed by Miss Christmann-Franck in her translation.

<sup>3</sup> Szabó, 1971, 26, 41-4.

<sup>4</sup> Miss Szabó translates '(auf)gewogen', and on p. 101 she says the precious metals and stones are weighed as a sign of the innocence of the sacrificer. This suggests that she was thinking of the gold and silver as symbolic of purity. If so, there would be a closer resemblance to the Egyptian weighing of the soul against the symbol of truth than I believe to be the case. The verb *uḥelkimi* 'I am selling' in 406/c (*KBo* XXI. 22), quoted by Otten, 1958a, 132, points clearly in the direction of a mundane symbol of the market.

After this there is a lacuna. Then, after sacrifices to the Sun-goddess of the Underworld and the soul of the dead, the bones are brought to the 'stone house' or mausoleum and placed on a bed; a lamp is lit. Here on the third day there is a ceremony with sacrifices and drinking to Mezulla and other gods, accompanied by music. The following days are lost, but on the seventh we find there is an effigy seated on a chariot, which the women take out of the house to the courtyard. Here *ezzan* (possibly here the dead man's personal property)<sup>1</sup> is burned, together with a fine garment and a jar of oil. Another cult meal takes place together with drinking and music. On the eighth day oxen, sheep, horses, and mules are slaughtered for the deceased; the Old Woman declares that they are his property and no one shall take them away from him. A 'piece of meadow' is also brought and she declares that the animals shall graze on it. After the seated effigy has again been toasted, it is taken off the chariot into a tent and placed on a golden throne (or, in the case of a woman, on a stool). Another feast takes place with drinking and music. In the evening of this day there is a mutilated reference to another figure made of fruit, or in the case of a woman, of cereals. The ninth day is almost entirely lost. On the tenth day a plough is burned and the ashes are brought to the place where 'the heads of the horses and cattle were burned', which implies that this holocaust had taken place at the time of the cremation. The eleventh day is again missing, but the twelfth is well preserved. The day opens with the effigy in the house. There are sacrifices to it and to the chthonic powers, to the ancestors and to the soul of the dead. The effigy is then put on a chariot and taken out, followed by mourning women. A vine is cut, decked out with natural and artificial grapes and other things, and taken into a tent. Here the effigy is brought and there is another meal with music. After this a kinsman of the dead cuts down the vine with a silver axe, the effigy is put back on the chariot and taken back, perhaps to the house. The thirteenth day begins with an obscure performance with models of birds. They are apparently pushed in at the window and then burned.<sup>2</sup> There is another cult meal with music. Then the effigy with the throne is placed on a platform and further sacrifices of oxen and sheep take place. This is repeated nine times and followed again by further drinking to the 'Lucky

<sup>1</sup> Following Goetze, 1960, 378, as neither salt nor chaff (Laroche, 1961) make very good sense here.

<sup>2</sup> On the burning of birds and the connection of birds with the Underworld see above, p. 56.



Day', the Sun-goddess of the Underworld, and the ancestors. Finally, bread is laid on the effigy's knees and they say: 'See, we have placed the bread on your legs. Now don't be angry any more! Be kind to your children! Your kingdom shall endure for your grandchildren and great-grandchildren.' They then bring a rope, smear it with oil, throw it on the hearth and say: 'When you go to the meadow, do not pull the rope!' The day ends with more offerings and the removal of the tent to the entrance. The fourteenth day is not preserved and so the end of the ritual is unknown, but there can be little doubt that the remains of the dead were finally laid to rest in the Stone House.

To judge from the final address, the Hittites, like other ancient peoples, were acutely aware of the potential menace posed by the soul of the dead, and especially of a royal personage, and the whole elaborate rite was primarily devised for its propitiation. It must not only be offered food and drink in plenty but must also be provided with a suitably affluent life-style in the Elysian fields. For it is clear that something of this kind was envisaged for the king in the afterlife.<sup>1</sup> He was provided symbolically with a meadow and with cattle to graze on it. Presumably the plough which is burned on the eighth day is connected with the same idea, but the significance of the rope which must not be pulled is obscure.

The ritual clearly establishes that the bones of the king were laid to rest in a building called a 'Stone House'. Stone Houses of Suppiluliuma, Arnuwanda, and Tudhaliya are attested. They were considerable establishments, endowed with lands and villages and a personnel which included herdsmen, peasants, house servants, and gatekeepers. These people and their families were attached to the establishment for life and forbidden to leave it even for marriage. They were, however, exempt from taxes and public service and an *eyan* tree—apparently an evergreen—was planted in front of the Stone House as a symbol of this freedom.<sup>2</sup>

We conclude by referring, for the third and last time, to Yazilikaya. We have suggested that this intriguing holy place was the *hesti* house where the New Year festival called *purulli* was celebrated and where the old year appears to have been laid to rest on the eleventh day of the spring festival of AN.TAH.SUM. We have shown good reason for thinking that the

<sup>1</sup> Otten, 1958a, 139; Viciya, 1965, 127 ff.

<sup>2</sup> CTH 252; Otten, 1958a, 104 ff., 132 f. The erection of an *eyan* tree as a symbol of exemption from imposts is attested in the Laws, § 50.

small chamber was laid out as a mortuary chapel for Tudhaliya IV. Was it also his Stone House? It has always been evident that *hesti* house and Stone House had much in common. One eminent scholar has now expressed the opinion that they are synonymous terms,<sup>1</sup> and it was long ago suggested that the three large cavities or niches at the back of the chamber might have been ossuaries or repositories for the urns containing the ashes of the dead king. However, the cavities were found empty and intensive excavation has failed to produce any clear evidence of a burial. The possibility that in Yazilikaya Chamber B we have the Stone House of Tudhaliya IV will probably for ever remain no more than an attractive hypothesis.

<sup>1</sup> Kammenhuber, 1972, 300.

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a. Yazılıkaya, Chamber A. The central group



b. Yazılıkaya, Chamber A. The line of gods





Yazılıkaya, relief in Chamber B. Tudhaliya IV in the protective embrace of his god Sarruma



Relief from Alaca Hüyük. The king worshipping Teshub in the form of a bull



Late Hittite relief from Malatya. The king pouring a libation before the Weather-god, Ishtar, and two other deities



Relief from Carchemish showing musicians playing a horn and a large drum or gong

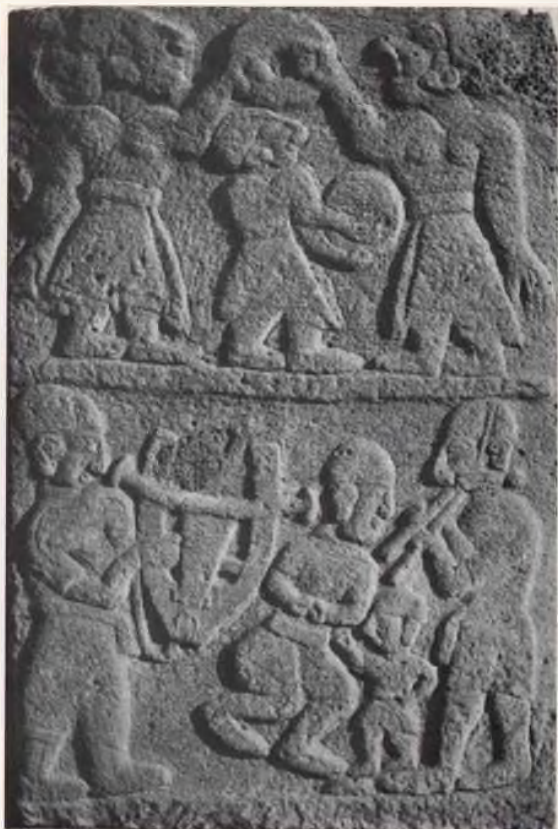




Relief from Carchemish showing musicians playing a lute and double pipes



Relief from Zincirli showing musicians playing two kinds of lyre and tambourines



Relief from Karatepe showing musicians playing a lyre, double pipes, and  
tambourines(?)





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Ancient near Eastern Cylinder Seals Acquired by the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford 1963-1973

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# ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN CYLINDER SEALS ACQUIRED BY THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD 1963–1973

By P. R. S. MOOREY and O. R. GURNEY

*In memory of Briggs W. Buchanan*

At his death in December 1976 Briggs W. Buchanan had been working on the collection of ancient Near Eastern seals in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, for the best part of thirty years. Illness had prevented any visits after the summer of 1974. The first fruits of his labours appeared in 1966 as a *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum, I. Cylinder Seals*. By early in the 1970's he had prepared a manuscript of the long-planned complementary stamp seal catalogue. A variety of problems hindered the final stages of revision and it will sadly be some years yet before a manuscript and illustrations suitable for publication can be made available. Buchanan had also drafted a concise handlist of all the cylinder seals acquired by the Ashmolean Museum after his first volume went to press in 1963, including a few seal impressions from Tell Brak and Kish overlooked in earlier years. He intended this to be an appendix to his second volume. As this volume is already of considerable size and treats a distinct aspect of ancient glyptic, it has been decided that a revised and extended version of this appendix should appear independently, so that it may more easily be used in conjunction with the cylinder seal catalogue. Virtually all the cylinder seals described here were acquired when Briggs Buchanan was not in Oxford; but his comments on them were always eagerly awaited, and readily given, when he arrived for his almost annual summer visits between 1963 and 1974. It is to these conversations that Moorey owes a persisting interest in glyptic and an invaluable informal instruction in the rudiments of classification. The classifications offered here depend heavily on Buchanan's check-list; but comment has been added by Moorey and any departures from Buchanan's opinion are made clear. Gurney has revised translations he originally made for the Museum. The drawings of seal impressions are those made by Mrs. Diane Gurney for Briggs Buchanan and the photographs were prepared year by year in the Museum's studio by Miss O. Godwin. For abbreviations used in the catalogue see p. 59. Measurements are given in millimetres (for cylinders as height  $\times$  width); figures such as 1967.1480 are the museum registry numbers.

A: The following cylinder seal from Kish and sealings from Brak and Kish were inadvertently omitted from *Buchanan I*:

*Piedmont Jamdat Nasr*:

1. Sealing; from a jar neck, string marks on the reverse; clay; linear pattern; possible traces of a second rolling at the bottom.

1938.101. 32 high. Brak: JNP. Given by M. E. L. Mallowan.

2. Fragment of a cylinder of bitumen with a sheet copper cover; traces of a linear "tree" design which suggests it may have been a seal rather than a bead.

1929.237. 18 × 10 (as extant). Kish V. 127: cutting Y on Tell Ingharra at 6 m depth (level of water table). Given by the Oxford-Field Museum Expedition.

L. Ch. Watelin, *JRAS* 1930, Pl. X. 2; P. R. S. Moorey, *Iraq* 28 (1966), 36.

A cylinder seal made exactly like this was found in an Early Dynastic IIIb grave on Mound A at Kish (Ashmolean Museum 1925.266: *Buchanan* I, no. 183).

#### *Early Dynastic I.*

3. Sealing; two rollings; clay; upper part of a goat in the lower field; above, from left, scorpion, snake (?), plant; four drill holes at random.

1931.88g. 45 high. Kish (Ingharra, no field number). Given by the Oxford-Field Museum Expedition.

Animal and plant motifs combined like this appear among the seal impressions S.I.S. 4-5 at Ur (*U.E.* III, nos. 191, 271); on the dating of these sealings see D. Hansen, in D. G. Mitten (ed.), *Studies presented to George M. A. Hanfmann* (Mainz, 1971), 47-54.

4. Sealing; from a jar; clay; two partial rollings; upper one of legs only; lower, spread-winged eagle above a fish over the back of a bull *passant* to left; to left, rear of quadruped with a fish and scorpion (?) above; to right, ibex head.

1929.289. 23 high. Kish: Ingharra V.555: trench C.4 at 7 m depth. Given by the Oxford-Field Museum Expedition.

This impression, like the previous one, may be closely paralleled among the S.I.S. 4 impressions from Ur (*U.E.* III, no. 280).

5. Sealing; from a jar; clay; two rollings; cow or bull in a byre; man in a "pulled-back" pleated skirt wielding a dagger behind a quadruped; various ill-defined filling motifs.

1929.294. 18 high. Kish: Ingharra V.554: trench C.4 at 7 m depth (as no. 4 above). Given by the Oxford-Field Museum Expedition.

Parallels for this design, and the skirt of the figure, occur on sealings from S.I.S. 4-5 at Ur (*U.E.* III, nos. 243, 304-19).

#### *Early Dynastic III.*

6. Sealing; two rollings; clay; in the upper field the feet of a bird; then a boat with a human-headed prow; below, bird, recumbent quadruped, bird.

1939.332 (195). 35 high. Brak: JNP: Terrace House at 1 m. Given by M. E. L. Mallowan.

The theme of the "God-boat" has been fully discussed by Amiet (*GMA*, 177-181). It is a theme distinctive of Early Dynastic III, when it may have been more common in central and northern Iraq than in the Sumerian heartland.

#### *Akkadian.*

7. Sealing; clay; possible trace of a "hero"; rampant full-face human-headed



bull with body in profile; small rampant goat under horizontal bar; full-face bearded hero (?) standing to grasp the paw and body of a reversed lion (?).

1930.395 (28). 19 high. Kish: Ingharra (no field number). Given by the Oxford-Field Museum Expedition.

A date in the early Akkadian period puts this among the relatively rare sealings of this phase found at Kish (cf. *Boehmer*, Pl. III. 23).

8. Sealing; clay; from a jar; two rollings one above the other; winged temple façade set on the back of a recumbent bull (?); rope from gate held by figure standing to right, facing left; dagger (?) filling motif; seated figure, with elbow on table, facing right.

1939.332 (200). 25 high. Brak. Given by M. E. L. Mallowan.

Buchanan has already published an impression from Brak showing the winged façade (*Buchanan* I, no. 341). The motif has been fully considered by *Boehmer* (op. cit., 105-109, nos. 1349-1421).

B: The following cylinder seals were accessed by the Ashmolean Museum after *Buchanan* I went to press:

*Uruk*.

9. White magnesite; silver ram on the top now dowelled immovably into the perforation (photographs taken when the seal was in the Brummer Collection, before cleaning, show considerable corrosion); tiny perforation, now obstructed, on each side of the ram; a file of cows in the upper register closely packed and moving to right; no exact correspondence between heads and bodies shown; below, a row of four reed huts within which are seen alternately a pair of young calves standing and two rows of handled jars; in space between huts the foreparts of two larger calves emerge to share contents of a trough set between them; each hut has three ringed poles rising from the far end of it; a calf *passant* between each hut at pole level.

1964.744. 53 × 46 (animal, 32 × 34). Bought; *Sotheby*, 16th-17th November, 1964, lot no. 156 (formerly Ernest Brummer collection).

R. W. Hamilton, *Iraq* 29 (1967), 34-41, Pl. XI; P. P. Delougaz, *JNES* 27 (1968), 192-3, Fig. 11; P. R. S. Moorey, *Ancient Iraq* (Ashmolean Museum, 1976), frontispiece; said to be from Uruk.

In his detailed discussion Hamilton suggested a date early in the Jamdat Nasr period for this seal; but Buchanan, citing seal impressions from Uruk (*UVB* V, Pl. 25d = *GMA*, no. 186; *UVB* XX, Pl. 28e, p. 23), preferred an earlier dating in the Uruk period. Delougaz's treatment of the iconography of this seal is ambiguous and might be read to mean that he doubted its authenticity: "... its composition as a whole is unparalleled. This is a characteristic which it has in common with some other, more pretentious objects which have been acquired recently by other European museums". This overlooks the fact that this seal had been in the Brummer collection for many years before its sale in 1964 and does not take account of its original condition when acquired for that collection. The actual seal has been studied by a number of specialists and none has thought it false. Nor is there any

reason to think the animal a secondary addition, though both it and the seal have been harshly cleaned at some time before 1964. The closest parallels for the ram, two of silver, one of copper, all from Uruk, are among the oldest known examples of lost-wax castings from Iraq and appear on seals of exactly this type (E. Heinrich, *Kleinfunde* (Berlin, 1935), Pl. 17a, b; A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, 87, Pl. V. 29).

### *Jamdat Nasr:*

10. Black "steatite"; standing ibex with recumbent kid behind; rosette on a branch; recumbent ibex; lion *passant*.

1969.344.  $26\frac{1}{2} \times 22$ . Bought; as from Iran.

Buchanan cited *Diyala*, Pl. 6: 32, suggesting a date early in the Jamdat Nasr period. In view of the seal's probable source a more direct parallel is provided by seals from Susa contemporary in date with the Proto-Elamite tablets (P. Amiet, *MDP XLIII*, Pl. 111: 1034-5; 112: 1036 (especially the plant motif)).

11. White marble, brown streaked; three goats *passant* with clear evidence of drill. 1967.1472.  $25 \times 22$ . Bought; from a collection formed in Iraq before 1930.

This design is typical of the animal files on seals found at Jamdat Nasr (*Buchanan I*, no. 28).

12. White marble, brown, streaked; three horizontal rows of enclosed lentoid shapes to which birds' heads have been added, and in some cases wings.

1969.347.  $21 \times 17\frac{1}{2}$ . Bought; as from Iran.

This is a standard design of the Jamdat Nasr style to which the seal belongs (E. Mackay, *AM I* (3), Pl. LXXIII. 8); but the modifications seem to be the work of a modern engraver.

### *Early Dynastic III:*

13. Shell; worn surface; upper register: row of reclining sheep; lower, below a double line divider, a continuous two-lined zigzag with interspaces filled by radiate dots.

1967.1230.  $35\frac{1}{2} \times 19$ . Bought; *Sotheby*, 23rd October, 1967, lot no. 80.

The broad category to which this seal belongs is dated by a seal from Khafajah (*Diyala*, Pl. 37: 381); the combination of figurative and geometric designs in two registers is found on a variety of Early Dynastic III seals (*GMA*, nos. 1053-1061).

14. Shell; worn; spread-winged lion-headed eagle; reversed repeat.

1963.349.  $27 \times 17\frac{1}{2}$ . Bought; as from Iran.

Buchanan cited two Early Dynastic III seals from Ur (*U.E. X*, nos. 90-1), which both have elaborately rendered spread-winged lion-headed eagles in their designs, though neither is exactly like this example. Outside Sumer, where it is typical of Early Dynastic III, the lion-headed eagle is a rarity (*GMA*, 140).

15. Lapis lazuli; worn; seated figure drinking from a cup; attendant grasping right wing of a spread-winged eagle; on the eagle's right another attendant holds a tall-necked jar at arm's length towards the eagle.

1972.1398.  $17\frac{1}{2} \times 10$ . Given by Mrs. Christopher Simmons.

The combination of the spread-winged eagle and the banquet is not in itself unusual (*GMA*, Pl. 89); but the arrangement of the motifs in a single narrow register is. Buchanan placed this seal in transitional Early Dynastic III to Akkadian; dating in accord with comparable treatment of the spread-winged eagle in cemetery A at Kish (S. Langdon, *XK I*, Pl. VI: 8, 12).

*Akkadian:*

16. Dark limestone; worn; rampant lion; full-face human-headed bull leaning back in grasp of a bearded hero; goat (?), its head turned back, held by bearded hero who holds a mace, its head resting on the ground, in his left hand.

1967.1473.  $25\frac{1}{2} \times 13$ . Bought; from a collection formed in Iraq before 1930.

This is a routine example of an Early Akkadian contest scene distinguished only by the human-headed bull, which subsequently disappeared from the Akkadian repertory.

17. Shell; chipped; divided into two registers by double horizontal lines; upper: two standing women, their left hands raised in a gesture of worship before a seated woman her right hand raised, crescent above; then behind, facing left, a third standing woman, right hand raised; lower: crossed lions with a "tree" behind them, each attacking a goat with head held back.

1969.786.  $59 \times 16\frac{1}{2}$ . Bought; *Sotheby*, 22nd December, 1969, lot no. 102.

A comparable type of design is represented by BM 108781 (*Boehmer*, Pl. VIII. 86); the lower animal contest is well matched on a cylinder seal from PG/1276 at Ur (IM 14594 = *Boehmer*, Pl. VIII: 79 = *U.E.* II, p. 579 U.12158, Pl. 204). Both are classified by *Boehmer* as "Akkadisch Ib" (*Buchanan*: Early Akkadian).

18. Pink banded limestone; worn; three groups of hero and animal, the first a lion, the other two antelopes or related beasts.

1966.1266.  $33 \times 20$  (19: concave). Given by Mrs. J. Seitchand.

This is an unusual variant, with three pairs of contestants facing the same way, of a characteristic Early Akkadian motif (cf. no. 19 following, and *Boehmer*, Pl. IX: 89).

19. Shell; partly worn; full-face bearded nude hero grappling with a rampant bull; helmeted, bearded hero in a kilt grasping rampant lion's head with his left hand; driving a dagger into it with his right; similarly dressed hero (head erased) grasping head of a rampant bull with left hand and striking it with a weapon held at head level; knobbed pole at the end. In the lower field between contestants: dagger or mace; plant; spike-butted axehead.

1969.348.  $40 \times 24$ . Bought; as from Iran.

This, like no. 18 above, is one of a wide range of such scenes produced in the early Akkadian period (cf. *Boehmer*, Pl. V: 47; VI: 55; IX: 88-9; IX: 104, 109, 112).

1967.1231. 36 × 21½. Bought; *Sotheby*, 23rd October, 1967, lot no. 80 (with no. 23 here).

21. Nephrite ; full-face bullman, body in profile, grasping an inverted lion, its head turned upwards ; rampant buffalo with head tilted backwards struggling with a human hero, facing left ; inscription.

*Inscription.* Ur-LI (Personal name)

22. Brown mottled, dark green "serpentine"; two seated nude bearded men with a pot between them above a continuous row of four sheep; offering bearer with a lamb or kid in his arms; man with bent rod or crook and whip held at shoulder level; crescent above; inscription in between and in front; star above enthroned god extending a cup in his right hand and holding a whip over his left shoulder.

Bought; *Sotheby* 24th July, 1967, lot no. 78.

(The second line should contain the owner's profession; for ukuš.lugal cf. *CANES* no. 281, but the reading is very uncertain.)

23. Shell (calcined); damaged; ox drawing a plough, fitted with a large seeder, guided by a man in long belted and pleated skirt; bird swooping down, presumably on to the scattered seed; crescent above.

This is an unusually instructive example of the ploughing scenes which form a coherent group extending across the Akkadian period (*Boehmer*, 126–7, where earlier

scenes of ploughing are listed ; Pl. LX : 711-715). This example is in the mature Akkadian style. It is of particular interest for the size, and thereby unusually detailed rendering, of the seeder, adding a particularly good illustration to the existing evidence for drill-sowing from early times in Mesopotamia (cf. A. G. Haudricourt et M. J. Delamarre, *L'homme et la charrue à travers le monde* (Paris, 1955), Pl. I. 1 ; A. Salonen, *Agricultura Mesopotamica* (Helsinki, 1968), Pl. VI).

24. Brown flecked pink limestone ; worn ; belted god holding mace down in right hand, left raised, left foot up on podium with projecting horn ; facing him a standing god in pleated garment holding a staff at waist in right hand, pail in left ; worshipper with a kid ; goddess(?) with long back curl, hands clasped at waist ; attendant with pail ; palm-tree. All the deities wear crowns with a single pair of horns. 1966.1227. 26 × 17. Given by Mrs. J. Seitchand.

The horned form of the god's podium is particularly well illustrated on a seal in Cambridge (M. Munn-Rankin, *Iraq* 21 (1959), 22 ff., Pl. V. 7 = *Boehmer*, Pl. XXXI. 376). A variant is shown on a seal from Adab (*Boehmer*, Pl. XXXVI. 427) in the mature Akkadian style to which this example probably belongs.

#### *Neo-Sumerian :*

25. Black mottled, green serpentine ; worn ; date-palm in a vessel between two worshippers ; crescent on a staff over a fish.

1967.1478. 17½ × 8. Bought ; from a collection formed in Iraq before 1930.

The Ashmolean already has some seals illustrating this theme in its characteristic Neo-Sumerian guise, as here (*Buchanan* I, nos. 400-3).

26. Grey nephrite ; worn ; bird over a scorpion ; worshipper led by a goddess, enthroned goddess holding a cup (?) ; crescent before her, snake.

1967.1475. 19½ × 10. Bought ; from a collection formed in Iraq before 1930.

This is a typical, but relatively poor, example of the Ur III presentation scene.

27. Dark mottled green serpentine ; worshipper led by an interceding goddess to an enthroned goddess ; crescent above ; two columns of inscription.

1967.1474. 26 × 15. Bought ; from a collection formed in Iraq before 1930.

*Inscription.* A-na'-<sup>a</sup>Suen-tak-la-ku Ana-Sin-taklaku  
mār A-da-lāl son of Adallal.

This is, again, a conventional Ur III presentation scene, distinguished only by its inscription.

28. Steatite ; worshipper led by a goddess to an enthroned deity holding a cup ; lion-sceptre in the field.

1967.1477. 15 × 9. Bought ; from a collection formed in Iraq before 1930.

The style of this presentation scene indicates a date in the early second millennium B.C. during the Isin-Larsa period. The lion-headed sceptre might identify the deity as Nergal (cf. E. Porada, *Sumer* 7 (1951), 66-7).

29. Carnelian; tapered towards either end as if a bead rather than a seal; bearded worshipper led by a goddess to an enthroned goddess; crescent above; ground line beneath; vertical line of inscription.

1968.1516.  $24 \times 6$  ( $7\frac{1}{2}$ ). Bought; *Sotheby*, 22nd October, 1968, lot no. 86.

*Inscription.* Arad-Ištar      Arad-Ištar  
                  māṛ Nu-ūr-ia      son of Nuriya.

Although this is a typical later Neo-Sumerian presentation scene the object itself is rather unusual both in form and in the choice of stone. It may well have been a votive bead.

#### *Old Babylonian:*

30. Haematite; upper part only; worn; star behind standing deity facing right; disc on altar; worshipper facing to the left; nude female facing right; god with a crook wearing a high horned crown; fly(?) above crook; fish above small figure; vessel above a "spade".

1966.555.  $16 \times 11$ . Source unknown; transferred from the Ashmolean Museum Department of Eastern Art in 1966.

This is a fragment of a typical Old Babylonian seal with the "Nude Female", shown with her head in profile rather than the commoner full-face, in frieze with other figures and symbols. In this instance the gesture of her hand suggests that she is worshipping the god with a crook (cf. *Buchanan* I, no. 497 for this combination); at times she is the recipient of such gestures (cf. *CANES* I, 56).

31. Haematite; chipped; "man with a mace", two vertical panels of inscription; damaged symbol over a spade; two crooks back to back over a horned animal.

1968.1285.  $23 \times 10$ . Given by Dr. Rosalind Moss.

*Inscription.* <sup>a</sup>Mar-tu      Amurru (the god)  
                  dumu-an-na      son of Anu.

I have reviewed the evidence for the status of the "man with a mace" elsewhere (*Iraq* 35 (1973), 75). His role remains ambiguous; but this seal design might be taken to indicate a particularly close association with the god Amurru, with whom he has in the past been identified. Not only the inscription, but also the two crooks on the animal's back, indicate this deity (E. D. van Buren, *Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art* (1945), 60 ff.; J. Kupper, *L'Iconographie du Dieu Amurru* (1961), 42 ff.). The style of this seal, the technique of cutting and the arrangement of inscription and figures, suggests a date in the later Old Babylonian Period.

32. Haematite; chipped; rampant human-headed bulls (bodies profile; heads full-face), their heads close together over a lion-scimitar set between them; bulls grasped by bearded full-face bullmen set on either side of two vertical panels of inscription; squatting monkey below.

1968.1293.  $25 \times 15$ . Given by Dr. Rosalind Moss.

*Inscription.* <sup>a</sup>Samaš  
                  <sup>a</sup>A-a

This is a typical Old Babylonian contest frieze with an inscription known on a number of similar designs (cf. *CANES*, nos. 350, 370).

33. Haematite; chipped; crudely cut; winged monster rampant attacking a man down on one knee, his head turned back; leonine monster facing right.

1967.1479.  $26\frac{1}{2} \times 14$ . Bought; from a collection formed in Iraq before 1930.

This schematically, disc-cut seal belongs towards the end of the Old Babylonian period, c. 1700 B.C.

34. Haematite; bearded full-face bullman grasping reversed bull also held by bearded full-face hero, his right foot on the bull's head; inscription cut in spaces between the hero and the bull, perhaps later than the original manufacture of the seal; rampant lion and winged dragon threatening rampant horned animal between them; group of three blobs above; groundline.

1967.1194.  $23 \times 12$ . Bought; as from Iran.

*Inscription.* <sup>d</sup>nin-šubur (The god)

Other Old Babylonian contest friezes have the inscription almost haphazardly set into the design (cf. *CANES*, no. 360).

35. Haematite; two bow-legged dwarfs, upper one reversed; female figure in high hat; "monkey" above; male worshipper facing a god who holds dot-filled lion club in his right hand, scimitar in his left and stands on a recumbent dragon; figure in high hat holding hands at waist; ground line.

1969.519.  $9 \times 24$ . Bought; as from Iran.

The style of this seal and the manner of cutting indicates a date late in the Old Babylonian period after about 1700 B.C. (cf. *Buchanan I*, 96 ff.)

#### *Kassite:*

36. Mottled pinkish white, brown and milky agate; chipped; seated god on ground line; seven vertical columns of inscription.

1969.353.  $37 \times 15$ . Bought; as from Iran.

*Inscription.* <sup>1</sup>Be-el-šu-nu

dumu Be-la-nu

dingir-bi <sup>d</sup>Šubur

<sup>d</sup>x (x)

<sup>d</sup>Nin (x)

me-din hé-ib-si (= *lalē balāṭi lišbi*) May he be filled with the joys of life,

ir ní-tuk-zu

Belšunu

son of Belanu

his god(?) <Nin?>-šubur

(and) (the gods) x

and Nin . . .

thy reverent slave.

Compare *de Clercq*, no. 255 and *Brussels*, no. 425 (*RA* 16 (1919), 75 and 93; also in H. Limet, *Les légendes des sceaux kassites*, nos. 6:19, 6:17). Gurney is indebted to Professor W. G. Lambert for the suggested reading; but the syntax of the inscription remains obscure.

37. Yellow and milky agate, mottled reddish brown; worn; god holding scimitar facing worshipper; recumbent goat or antelope between them, head turned back; ground line; five vertical columns of inscription.

1969.352.  $36 \times 15\frac{1}{2}$ . Bought; as from Iran.



*Inscription:* ú-li-di  
 ú-ra(?) -da-ku  
 ú-x-ú-da-ku  
 ì-lí ša(?) -dam(??)  
 gi-mi-li

No sense can be made of this inscription. *gimli*, addressed to a goddess, is common in Kassite inscriptions in the sequence *uṣ-ri gi-im-li šu-zi-bi*, "protect, spare and deliver", but the rest of the text is unparalleled. *ú-ra-da-ku* (if correctly read) could perhaps mean "I am a slave", but this would be an Assyrian form, unlikely in such an inscription.

38. "Jaspery haematite"; worn; clump of flowers with bird perched on the outer one; cross-marked sun-disc over horse's back; mountain god holding a flowering stalk over each shoulder.

1968.737. 29½ × 12. Bought; said to be from Iran.

This seal is of particular interest for the combination of motifs. The use of decorative curls on animals was a conceit favoured by Middle Assyrian seal cutters (A Moortgat, *ZA* 47 (1942), 71, Fig. 38 and 18 (*de Clercq* no. 311)), which found its way into the repertory of the jewellers who served the men buried at Marlik in north west Iran (E. Negahban, *Marlik* (Tehran, 1964), Fig. 109). The placing of the vertical lines on the horse's back might be taken to indicate the borders of a "saddle-cloth". If so, this would be an early representation of this feature (cf. later horse-rhyta: D. Stronach, *Iraq* 36 (1974), 243 ff., Pl. LIII). No less unusual is the mountain-god wearing a conical, horned helmet. Buchanan has commented on the first appearance of this figure in Neo-Sumerian glyptic (*JNES* 31 (1972), 100-1) and Miss Porada has examined its place in Kassite and Middle Assyrian designs (in G. C. Miles (ed.), *Archaeologica Orientalia . . . Herzfeld* (New York, 1952), 179 ff.), when it was particularly popular. A fifteenth century limestone relief from Assur shows the mountain god holding flowering branches over his shoulders as here (A. Moortgat, *The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia* (London, 1969), Pl. 236). There is a fragment of a comparable seal from Tell al Rimah (B. Parker, *Iraq* 37 (1975), 35, Pl. XV. 48), to which Miss Parker compared *CANES*, no. 595. Buchanan classified this seal as "Late Kassite, c. 1300 B.C."; chronologically this seems appropriate; but stylistically "Middle Assyrian" is arguably more exact.

39. Carnelian; chipped; running winged bull over a motif rendered illegible by chips; bull's horns held by standing man; open lozenge between them; monkey squatting in field behind man; inscription, to be read on the stone, above.

1967.1196. 23½ × 10. Bought; as from Iran.

*Inscription.* "Mes-umun-gal arhuš tuku Marduk, great lord, have mercy

Buchanan classified this seal as "Late Kassite, c. 1300 B.C.". In Babylonia and Assyria, inscriptions cut in the positive on the stone are generally of the first millennium B.C., though on seals and ring-bezels made outside the Mesopotamian plain they appear towards the end of the previous millennium (E. Porada, *MDP XLII* (1969), 128, n. 5). The placing of the inscription here is comparable to that on seals in Beran's "zweite kassitische Gruppe" (*Afo* 18 (1957-8), 266 ff.), with which, even if provincial, it probably belongs.

40. Steatite; worn; above, flowering tree between recumbent horse and goat, then another flowering bush in a container; below, flowering tree between recumbent goats facing outwards; discs and other animals in the field.

1968.1160.  $26 \times 12$ . Bought; no reported source.

Buchanan classified this seal as "Late Kassite, c. 1200". Although the crude cutting is far removed from the masterpieces of the style (*Buchanan* I, no. 102; VA 3903: *Berlin*, no. 560), this cylinder might be better placed slightly later with the group defined by Herzfeld as "Babylonien: Isin II" (*Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 8 (1937), 110 ff.; cf. T. Beran, *AfO* 18 (1957-8), 274 ff.: "Die dritte kassitische Gruppe").

### *Middle Assyrian:*

41. Black streaked, yellow and brown spotted jasper; chipped; rampant winged bull attacked by a rampant lion; between them a recumbent goat; star and crescent.

1967.1193.  $43 \times 17\frac{1}{2}$ . Bought; as from Iran.

Comparable impressions on tablets from the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (c. 1244-1208 B.C.), found at Assur, indicate a date in the thirteenth century for this seal; a very similar, but more finely cut, seal formed part of the Southesk Collection (A. Moortgat, *ZA* 13 (1942), 62 ff., Fig. 25).

### *Neo-Assyrian Linear, about the eighth century B.C.*

42. Brown limestone; worn; rampant lion (?) facing a sphinx; eye lozenge between them; crescent above plant; linear border.

1969.356.  $15 \times 8$  (9; convex). Bought; as from Iran.

43. Dark green serpentine; standing man with hands in gesture of worship; towered gateway; winged male sphinx with winged disc above; "rosette" above three wedges.

1963.1553.  $35 \times 11$  (12; convex). Bought; *Sotheby*, 11th November, 1963, lot no. 39.

This scene is still rare on published Assyrian seals. The best known example, *CANES*, no. 652, has been studied in detail by Miss Bodenstein (*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* I(2) (1969), 5-13), who assembles much of the comparative evidence on seals, extending back to the Middle Assyrian period, and sculptures. She argues tentatively that the Morgan Library seal was made under Urartian influence. *CANES*, no. 652 shows only the gateway and a single figure, as does *Guimet* 117, rather improbably taken by Frankfort to depict soldiers standing outside a fortified city (*CS*, 197, Pl. XXXIVj). It has been generally agreed that the garments and gestures of the male figure indicate that he is involved in a ritual act. On a Middle Assyrian seal (W. Andrae, *Das Wiedererstandene Assur* (Leipzig, 1938), 11, Fig. 49) the objects of worship are depicted within the gateway. On the Neo-Assyrian examples (of which *Buchanan* I, no. 610, may be another, albeit provincial, example) the gateway is void. This new addition to the repertory shows the deities worshipped to the right of the gateway without necessarily associating

them directly. But the presence here of a human-headed winged bull may not be a coincidence, for it was he who appeared in monumental form as the guardian of Late Assyrian palace gateways and doorways. Although known examples do not come from temple entrances, it would be hazardous to assume that this implied that these glyptic towered gates were necessarily palatial.

*Neo-Assyrian Drilled, eighth century B.C.:*

44. Milky chalcedony; "priest" in a fish-skin carrying a "sprinkler" and bucket; crescent above; seated god on a goat-fish, winged disc above; worshipper; star over two superimposed maces.

1967.1195.  $28 \times 12\frac{1}{2}$ . Bought; as from Iran.

The fish-garbed "priest" is a familiar figure in Assyro-Babylonian glyptic from sometime in the eighth century B.C., regularly shown, as here, with a pail and sprinkler and sometimes also with a deity seated on the "goat-fish". There is some uncertainty about the correct identity of this figure, whether he is indeed a priest in a fish-like costume (cf. A. L. Oppenheim, *JAOs* 63 (1943), 31-4) or whether an apotropaic demon. In monumental Neo-Assyrian sculpture he appears sometimes as the guardian of doorways and was absorbed into early Achaemenid architectural sculpture in a comparable role (T. S. Kawami, *Iran* 10 (1972), 146-8). The pictorial evidence for the "goat-fish" has been conveniently assembled by Mrs. Calmeyer (U. Seidl, *BaM* 4 (1968), 178-81). On Neo-Assyrian seals, when shown beneath a deity throne, it may be an attribute of Ea (*Louvre*, Pl. 88: A685; *BN*, no. 361; *Moore*, no. 82).

*Neo-Imperial (Assyrian and Babylonian) drilled, c. 700 B.C.:*

45. Milky chalcedony, brown tinged; bearded centaur as archer with an extra pair of arms at waist level; fish between his legs; rampant winged dragon, head turned back, pierced by a number of arrows, star and rosette in lower field; double linear borders.

1969.351.  $31 \times 15$  (16; convex). Bought; as from Iran.

This is a conventional example of Neo-Assyrian imagery in which only the victim varies significantly (cf. *CANES*, no. 749).

46. Bluish chalcedony; chipped; sacred tree with winged disc above, flanked by goats with their heads turned back; crescent and eye-lozenge; tasselled spade of Marduk on an altar.

1974.362.  $27 \times 14$ . Given by Dr. R. A. Fletcher (said to be from Palestine).

The best guide to the dating of this seal is provided by a similarly cut one, with a comparable design, from room 23 (level 2, c. 630-615 B.C.) of the TW.53 Private Houses at Nimrud (M. E. L. Mallowan, *Iraq* 16 (1954), 68; B. Parker, *Iraq* 17 (1955), Pl. XVI. 1 (ND 3310)); for the Marduk standard at this time compare *ibid.*, Pl. XXV. 2, Fig. 10 (impression dated after 648 B.C.).

*Neo-Imperial Modelled, c. 700 B.C.:*

47. Amethyst; chipped; winged hero in kilt attacking from behind with a dagger a

rampant lion on whose right haunch he places his left foot ; from the front the lion is grasped by another, wingless kilted hero ; lightning bundle in lower field between them ; then spade pointing upwards above a plant.

1967.1480.  $29 \times 13$ . Bought (from a collection formed in Iraq before 1930).

The patterned kilt of the unwinged figure, in contrast to the fringed mantle, suggests a Babylonian rather than an Assyrian source for this seal (cf. *CANES*, no. 761).

48. Pale brown chalcedony ; chipped ; bearded archer in fringed mantle ; plant ; star and crescent above ; rampant winged griffin in flight ; fish below.

1969.350.  $28 \times 12$ . Bought ; as from Iran.

This is a conventional scene without any significant variations.

49. Bluish-chalcedony ; chipped ; star and crescent side by side over a sacred tree ; hero in long fringed and patterned mantle, with quiver on his back, holding scimitar in right hand and grasping with his left the horn of a rampant bull whose head is pulled over backwards ; seated dog.

1970.1.  $34 \times 13$ . Given by Professor C. Martin Robertson.

This seal compares closely with *CANES*., no. 750, where the victim is a griffin, attributed to a Babylonian workshop of the later eighth or seventh centuries B.C.

#### PROVINCIAL STYLES :

##### *Late Prehistoric :*

50. Steatite ; perforated conoid top with three shallow, parallel horizontal grooves ; worn ; two large jars with handles on either side (?) flanked by " feeder " vessels ; above in the intervals small, possibly spouted jars.

1966.1239.  $24$  (face, c.  $17$ )  $\times 15\frac{1}{2}$ . Given by J. A. Cohn.

The shape of this seal, even the three parallel encircling lines on the top, is matched in the Amuq (R. J. Braidwood, *Antioch I*, Fig. 382.382 : 3 ; cf. Fig. 297 : 5, p. 490) by seals attributed to phases G or H of the local sequence in the earlier third millennium B.C. There are also close parallels in Elam ; Amiet has already discussed the links (P. Amiet, *Syria* 40 (1963), 66-7 ; earlier *GMA*, nos. 258, 287, 311-2, 317 ; also *MDP XLIII*, Pl. 14 : 627 ; 15 : 629, 632-3 ; 112 : 1042 (for shape) ; *Louvre*, Pl. 69 : A. 115).

51. Copper ; cast in one with a tall handle rendered like twisted rope with a hole pierced through the near top ; illegible linear design.

1966.1132.  $63$  (seal :  $26$ )  $\times 21$  (18, irregular).

Bought : *Sotheby*, 11th July, 1966, lot no. 59 (said to be from Turkey).

52. Copper ; cast in one with a tall wedge-shaped handle pierced through towards the top ; row of " antelopes " with solid triangles between (one with an oblong over it).

1966.133.  $41$  (face :  $22$ )  $\times 17$  (15, irregular).

Bought with no. 51 above.

These two distinctive cylinder seals are not easy to place confidently on the basis of published evidence. The handle of no. 51 is very similar to that on a cylindrical fitting, not a seal, found by Woolley in one of the Early Bronze III cist graves on the Acropolis at Carchemish (*Carchemish*, III, 219, Fig. 85, Pl. 60b (centre)). The American University in Beirut has a metal cylinder seal incised with a linear design and cast with a standing goat on the top (D. Mackay, *A Guide to the Archaeological Collections* . . . A.U.B., 1951, po. VIII. 6), but its source is unknown. A comparable copper seal, but with a deeply cut animal frieze and a standing mouflon handle, in the Borowski collection, has been attributed to Iran in the earlier third millennium B.C. (*Trésors de l'Ancien Iran* (Musée Rath, Geneva, 1966), pp. 9, 153 (no. 14)). The designs of both 51 and 52 suggest a date in the earlier third millennium, if not slightly before (a peripheral Jamdat Nasr style); a source in northern Syria or south-east Turkey is plausible.

*Old Elamite/Provincial Old Babylonian:*

53. Bituminous shale; worn; recumbent stag, its head turned back on a double "ground line" with jagged projections; bearded and kilted man, his right hand held as if stabbing the stag. His head, with vertically striated hat or hair, is turned back, left hand raised to a crescent; bow-legged dwarf; another man similar to the first but facing forward; bird over his left shoulder; ground line.

1968.738.  $22 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ . Bought; as from Iran.

Buchanan classified this seal "Provincial Elamite", as the material immediately suggests, dating it in the earlier second millennium B.C. The figures have some affinity to a man on a cylinder of the same material from old excavations at Susa (*Louvre I*, S. 503, Pl. 34: 13); comparable seals from more recent excavations fall into the heterogeneous stylistic category defined by Amiet as "Série Élamite Populaire" (*MDP*, XLIII, Pl. 173: 1970, 1979 for the figures). The crouched stag is distinctive; but the bow-legged dwarf suggests a contact, albeit remote, with Old Babylonian glyptic (*ibid.*, Pl. 164: 1795).

54. Black serpentine; *upper*: bow-legged dwarf looking right; crescent above spade with angle at base; standing male in long robe looking left, arms akimbo; lion club; ?man in long robe looking right, arms held out, elbows bent; Y-shaped device above an "altar"; nude female, arms akimbo; "comb-like" symbol above ball-staff; *lower*: row of two alternating goats and lions recumbent.

1969.518.  $21 \times 10$ . Bought; as from Iran.

Buchanan classified this seal as "Provincial Babylonian, c. 1800 B.C.". It is not easy to refine this general categorization, but there are one or two seals from Susa (P. Amiet, *MDP* XLIII, Pl. 165-6, nos. 1815-6, 1819) that suggest an east Mesopotamian or Elamite source for this one.

*Cappadocian:*

55. Haematite; chipped; star; rampant lion in grasp of a full-face bullman; behind, thin seated animal figure facing right; suppliant goddess facing right;

bearded worshipper facing right; star disc in crescent over a ball-staff above a "comb-like" symbol.

1963.1291.  $24 \times 15$ . Bought; no recorded source.

This seal, like *Buchanan* I, no. 491, which he classified with the Metropolitan Old Babylonian series, has certain Cappadocian traits which suggest that it comes from a workshop, to the north-west of Iraq, working in a provincial Old Babylonian style (for comparable seals, classified as "Cappadocian", see *CANES* nos. 869-70, 882-3).

56. Top of a clay envelope; fragmentary; repeated seal impression: bird on back of a bull over altar framing a recumbent lion (?), standing god with staff on shoulder throwing stick extended in left hand, robe drawn back over knee; star, blob over spade; two standing worshippers facing right; standing goddess; ball and staff; star disc in crescent; seated goddess holding a bowl in extended right hand.

1968.65. About 50 square. Bought; *Sotheby*, 8th January, 1968, lot no. 170.

This seal impression is that shown on a tablet of the *Adad-şululi* archive at Kültepe in Turkey (T. Özgüç, *Kültepe Kazısı Raporu 1949* (Ankara, 1953), 239, Pl. LXIV. 717); Old Assyrian style, c. 1850 B.C.

57. Haematite; chipped; god with robe drawn back on right knee, holding V-tipped rod; two bow-legged dwarfs; star disc in crescent above; six detached heads in field above two dwarfs, one holding an axe.

1964.487.  $15\frac{1}{2} \times 9$ . Bought; *Sotheby*, 6th July, 1964, lot no. 11.

There is a close parallel to this seal in the British Museum (D. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, Fig. 69, p. 65; cf. also *BN*, no. 280). Buchanan placed this example in the group he had defined as "Syro-Cappadocian" in *Buchanan* I, 161, dating to the nineteenth century B.C.

*Syrian*, c. 1750 B.C.:

58. Haematite; two *ankh* signs one above another; figure in a long robe facing right, vessel (?) below; continuous double scroll set between two pairs of parallel lines; figure in long robe facing left; *ankh* above vessel; repeat of double spiral.

1969.355.  $15 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ . Bought; as from Iran.

Miss Collon's work on the seal impressions from Tell Atchana offers plenty of comparative evidence for placing this Egyptianizing seal in the Atchana level VII horizon (D. Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh* (*AOAT* 27; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1975), Pl. XXVII-III). The long fingers are characteristic of seals in this group (cf. *Buchanan* I, nos. 870-1, 881). Dr. C. F. A. Schaeffer tells me that the distinctive vertical scroll appears on seals from Ras Shamra.

*Mitannian*:

59. Reddish brown carnelian, creamy streaked; chipped; standing figure in long skirt with prominent lower border looking right, arm held up in front of face; nude goddess looking left, arms akimbo; worshipper, with kid on pair of parallel lines,

facing deity seated on a recumbent goat; in upper field a recumbent goat with head turned back.

1967.847.  $18\frac{1}{2} \times 9$  ( $9\frac{1}{2}$  convex). Formerly Philip Thorburn Collection.

This is an interesting addition to the small group of seals which were defined, in *CANES* I, 142, as illustrating the Elamite aspect of Mitannian glyptic (cf. *CANES*, nos. 1022-3), probably in the sixteenth century B.C.

60. Pinkish orange agate, milky spot; chipped; recumbent ibexes heads turned back flanking flying fishmen holding between them a stool or table supporting a winged disc, beneath it two joined birds and a rosette; guilloche border; *above*: a standing bearded worshipper (?) set sidewise, blob at waist and in front of hands; dotted rod above recumbent animal; *below*: sphinxes with curling plume on helmet, resting on haunches, flanking pole with "fruit" top.

1969.354.  $31 \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ . Bought; as from Iran.

This is a particularly fine example of the Elaborate Mitannian Style of the fifteenth century B.C. The winged disc on a stool does not appear among the published Nuzi sealings and is relatively rare on published cylinders (cf. *Louvre*, 2, no. A. 951, Pl. 97: 24; Berlin, no. 578; *CANES*, no. 1047). The other elements in the design are typical of this style, though unusually various in their combination here.

61. Carnelian; worn; nude female with arms akimbo standing on the haunches of addorsed goats, heads turned back; *above*, a star on either side; two men, one kilted, one in longer robe, flanking a rectangular altar, rendered by drill concentric circles, supporting two discs: one with crescentic lower edges and a central dot, the other divided into quadrants with a dot in each; fish on one side of the altar, ball-staff on the other.

1969.517.  $20 \times 10$ . Bought; as from Iran.

The "nude goddess" appears in Group XXVI of the Nuzi sealings (E. Porada, *AASOR* 24 (1947), 82 ff.); more unusual is the stylized altar and deity symbols on this seal. They are a particularly clear representation of the moon and sun standards less clearly seen on some Nuzi impressions in the Elaborate Mitannian style (*ibid.*, 66, nos. 746, 907-9; cf. E. Porada, in *Le Temple et le Culte* (Istanbul, 1975), 164-172).

62. Faience (now a brownish white colour), traces of green glaze; worn; criss-cross lines within a border.

1966.214.  $19 \times 8$  ( $7\frac{1}{2}$ ). Given by Dr. M. R. Lawrence (formerly in the collection of his brother T. E. Lawrence, who probably acquired it in Syria).

It is not certain from the shape whether this is a bead or a cylinder seal of the type mass produced in the fourteenth century B.C. as an aspect of the Mitannian "Common Style".

#### *Cypriot:*

63. Steatite; worn; tall figure, full-face, holding a standard; then two registers: *upper*: five figures in long robes facing right; *below*: figure facing right grasping a

long pole; quadruped; figure with arms raised; figure moving to right, arms outstretched, right bent at elbow.

1968.1287.  $23 \times 11$  (10). Bought; acquired in Nicosia by the former owner.

Buchanan attributed this seal to a Cypriot workshop at the very end of the local Late Bronze Age, c. 1200 B.C. But neither Porada (*AJA* 52 (1948), 178 ff.) nor Kenna (in L. Åström, *The Late Cypriote Bronze Age: Other Arts and Crafts* (S.C.E. IV (ID); Lund, 1972), 623 ff.) in their reviews of Cypriot glyptic in this period offer any close analogies to the distinctive style and arrangement of the figures.

*Western Iran: Iron Age:*

64. Serpentine; seated figure with domed horned headdress and curved, spiky wings, facing right; standing figure of similar type but with a conical horned headdress, holding a spouted vessel at ground level in right hand; symbols in field. 1969.363.  $23 \times 8$ . Bought; as from Iran.

This seal may be attributed by comparison to a seal in the Foroughi collection published by Miss Porada and attributed to about the tenth or ninth century B.C. by analogy with Neo-Assyrian seals (*Ancient Iran* (London, 1965), 78, Fig. 49). A comparable type of wing appears also on creatures shown on seals of the same period from Susa (P. Amiet, *MDP* XLIII, Pl. 184: nos. 2126–7).

65. Iron; much corroded; linear rendering of what appear to be structures with curved roof lines; concave profile.

1969.364.  $42 \times 26$  (21, concave). Bought; as from Iran.

I have traced no published parallel to this cylinder. The material is most unusual and, if the reported source is correct, might associate it with the iron industry of Luristan in Iron II–IIIB, c. 1000–700 B.C. The design by contrast does not suggest figurative styles of this period in western Asia so much as the reed structures shown on Mesopotamian seals of the later prehistoric period (cf. P. Amiet, *GMA*, Pl. 23) or the buildings shown on the carved steatite bowls produced in Iran (P. Kohl, *Expedition* 18 (1975), 18 ff.; for the structures, P. Delougaz (*Iraq* 22 (1960), 90 ff.), slightly later.

66. Stamp-cylinder; dark grey serpentine; line of winged wild equids; plants in between; borders; lion on base; loop handle with scalloped edge.

1969.357.  $19\frac{1}{2}$  (27 incl. loop)  $\times 14$  ( $11\frac{1}{2}$  top). Bought; as from Iran.

67. Stamp-cylinder; reddish brown limestone; winged disc with long tendrils above a recumbent lion flanked by standing winged figures, their outer arms raised, hands cupped, inner hands holding arrow-shaped objects downwards; on the base a repeat of the winged disc over the recumbent lion; loop handle.

1968.1517.  $20$  (28 incl. loop)  $\times 14\frac{1}{2}$  ( $13\frac{1}{2}$  at top). Bought; as from Iran.

The intimate association of this distinctive type of seal, the stamp-cylinder, with Urartu is well documented both in the Urartian homeland (M. N. van Loon, *Urartian Art* (Istanbul, 1966), 139 ff.; B. B. Piotrovskii, *Urartu* (London, 1967), 70 ff.), and now in north-west Iran through the excavations at Bastam (cf. *AMI* 5 (1972), 58–9; seals to be published by Mrs. P. Calmeyer). These two, like the majority of those published so far, are most probably of the seventh century B.C.



C: *Excavated Seals*:

The following cylinder seals from Tell al Rimah and Baba Jan Tepe were allocated to the Ashmolean Museum after official divisions:

- 68. TR 3730: Ashmolean 1967.724: B. Parker, *Iraq* 37 (1975), 32, no. 33.
- 69. TR 4402: Ashmolean 1970.981: *Ibid.*, 32, no. 34.
- 70. TR 5658: Ashmolean 1970.982: *Ibid.*, 35, no. 46.
- 71. TR 5659: Ashmolean 1970.984: *Ibid.*, 34, no. 45.
- 72. TR 5671: Ashmolean 1970.983: *Ibid.*, 23, no. 2.

The following cylinder seal from Dr. C. Goff's excavations at Baba Jan Tepe in Luristan was allocated after an official division to Mr. J. Bomford, who gave it to the Ashmolean:

- 73. (?excavation no.) Ashmolean 1970.1151: faience; worn; upper part of the design lost; remains of two scorpions; 25 × 11.

D: *Dubitanda and Fake*:

- 74. Steatite; chipped; much of the seal is recut over a ruined inscription; a goddess; a crescent on a pole; goddess leading a worshipper.

1967.1476. 22 × 10. Bought; from a collection formed in Iraq before 1930.

This may be a genuine Neo-Sumerian seal.

- 75. Dark grey serpentine; sidewise lion; archer; seated figure touching a crescent; ground line.

1966.557. 21 × 11 (10). Bought as from Iran.

Irregular vertical ridges on the surface indicate recutting.

- 76. Mica schist; man facing right (?), arms bent and hanging down from shoulder level; sidewise ibex; seated figure facing left; small sidewise animal.

1966.558. 15 × 9. Bought; as from Iran.

As with no. 75 there are signs of recutting on the surface.

- 77-79. Three fake cylinder seals (1967.1110-1112) were acquired together with no. 22 (*Sotheby*, 24th July, 1967, lot no. 78).

E: *Seals on loan for study purposes, 1963-1976*:

- 80. Pale green calcite; rampant lion (?) crossed with rampant goat; crossed rampant goats; rampant "hero" with horned head and animal haunches; rampant goat with head turned back.

Property of Mr. R. A. Hodgkin. 23 high. Collected in Iraq before 1939.

This is a finely cut example of an Early Dynastic II contest scene as defined in *Buchanan I*, 28 ff.

- 81. Dark mottled stone; worshipper led into the presence of a seated goddess by an interceding goddess; crescent in the upper field; two vertical panels of inscription. Property of Mr. R. A. Hodgkin. 33 high. Collected in Iraq before 1939.

*Inscription.* Ur-šu-ga-lam-ma                      Ur-Šugamma  
                     dumu Ka<sub>5</sub>-a nu-bànda    son of " Mr. Fox ", the sergeant.  
 This is a typical Ur III Presentation scene distinguished only by its inscription.

82. Haematite; worn, illegible inscription; suppliant goddess; star above ball-staff (double-lined); worshipper; star-disc in crescent above a vessel; " King " with cup seated on a cushioned throne; worn ground line.

Property of Professor O. R. Gurney. 23 × 12. Bought in Damascus, 1936.

This is a typical early Old Babylonian seal; for the unusual ball-staff cf. *Louvre*, 2, no. A.281, Pl. 77. 21.

83. Haematite; chipped and worn; suppliant goddess; chip above series of blobs; worshipper with a kid in his arms; standing god with right arm forward and down, left held in at waist.

Property of Professor O. R. Gurney. 26½ × 13½. Bought in Damascus, 1936.

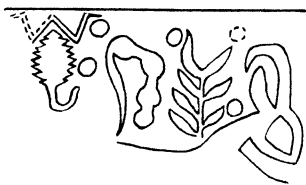
*Inscription.* ha-ši-ri-ki/di-ku (?)                      PN<sub>1</sub>  
                     dumu d<sup>1</sup>ku-da-ku(?)                      son of PN<sub>2</sub>  
                     ir(?)<sup>a</sup>nu-ba-da-ag(?)                      servant of (the god) Nubadag  
                     . . . . .                      . . . . .

The signs are badly worn, but the inscription appears to conform to the usual type. The god Nubadag in line 3 (the first three signs are reasonably clear) could be identified with the Hurrian god who appears in the inscription of Tišatal (A. Parrot and J. Nougayrol, *RA* 42 (1948), 8) as *Lu-ba-da-ga-aš*, in Ugaritic as *Nbdg*, and at Boğazköy as *Nu-pa-ti-ig*, *Nu-u-pa-ti-ga-aš*, *Lu-pa-l[i-ga/ig]* and *Lu-pa-ki-ta* (H. Otten, *Anatolia* 4 (1959), 27 ff.). The personal names are unintelligible. Are they perhaps Hurrian?

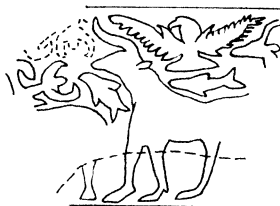
The simplified treatment of the robes and the small blobs in the field indicate a date between the middle and late phases of the Old Babylonian style.

*Abbreviations:*

- |                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| <i>Berlin</i>     | A. Moortgat, <i>Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel</i> (Berlin, 1940).  |
| <i>BN</i>         | L. Delaporte, <i>Catalogue des cylindres orientaux . . . de la Bibliothèque Nationale</i> (Paris, 1910).   |
| <i>Boehmer</i>    | R. M. Boehmer, <i>Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit</i> (Berlin, 1965).   |
| <i>Brussels</i>   | L. Speleers, <i>Catalogue des intailles et empreintes orientales . . .</i> (Brussels, 1917).   |
| <i>Buchanan I</i> | B. Buchanan, <i>Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum</i> , I: Cylinder Seals (Oxford, 1966).  |
| <i>CANES</i>      | <i>Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections</i> I, E. Porada, <i>The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library</i> (New York, 1948).                           |
| <i>CS</i>         | H. Frankfort, <i>Cylinder Seals</i> (London, 1939).  |
| <i>de Clercq</i>  | L. de Clercq, <i>Collection de Clercq, I, Cylindres orientaux</i> (Paris, 1888).   |
| <i>Diyala</i>     | H. Frankfort, <i>Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region</i> (Chicago, 1955).   |
| <i>GMA</i>        | P. Amiet, <i>La Glyptique Mésopotamienne Archaïque</i> (Paris, 1961).  |
| <i>Guimet</i>     | L. Delaporte, <i>Annales du Musée Guimet</i> , 33 (Paris, 1909): <i>Catalogue du Musée Guimet: Cylindres orientaux</i> .   |
| <i>Louvre</i>     | L. Delaporte, <i>Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravés de style oriental, Musée du Louvre</i> (Paris), I: <i>Fouilles et Missions</i> 1920; II: <i>Acquisitions</i> , 1923. |
| <i>Moore</i>      | G. A. Eisen, <i>Ancient Oriental Cylinder and other Seals . . . Mrs. William H. Moore</i> (Chicago, 1940).   |



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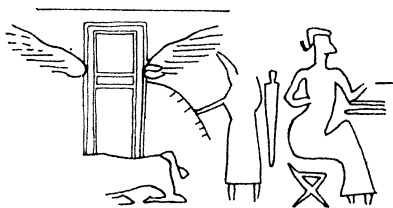
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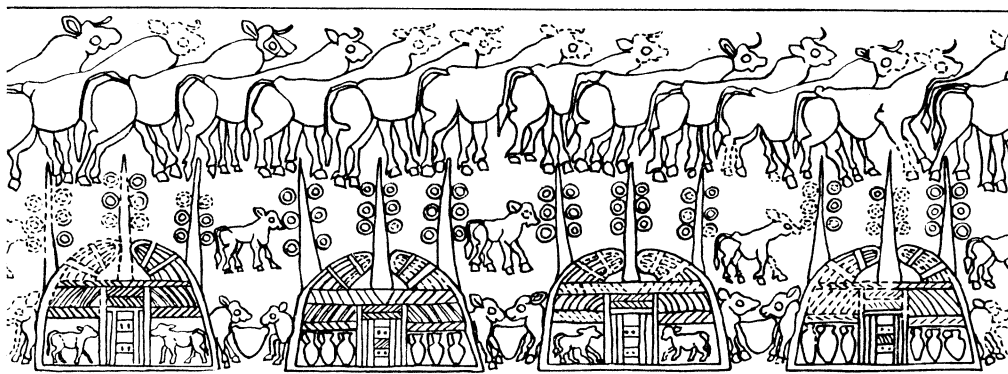
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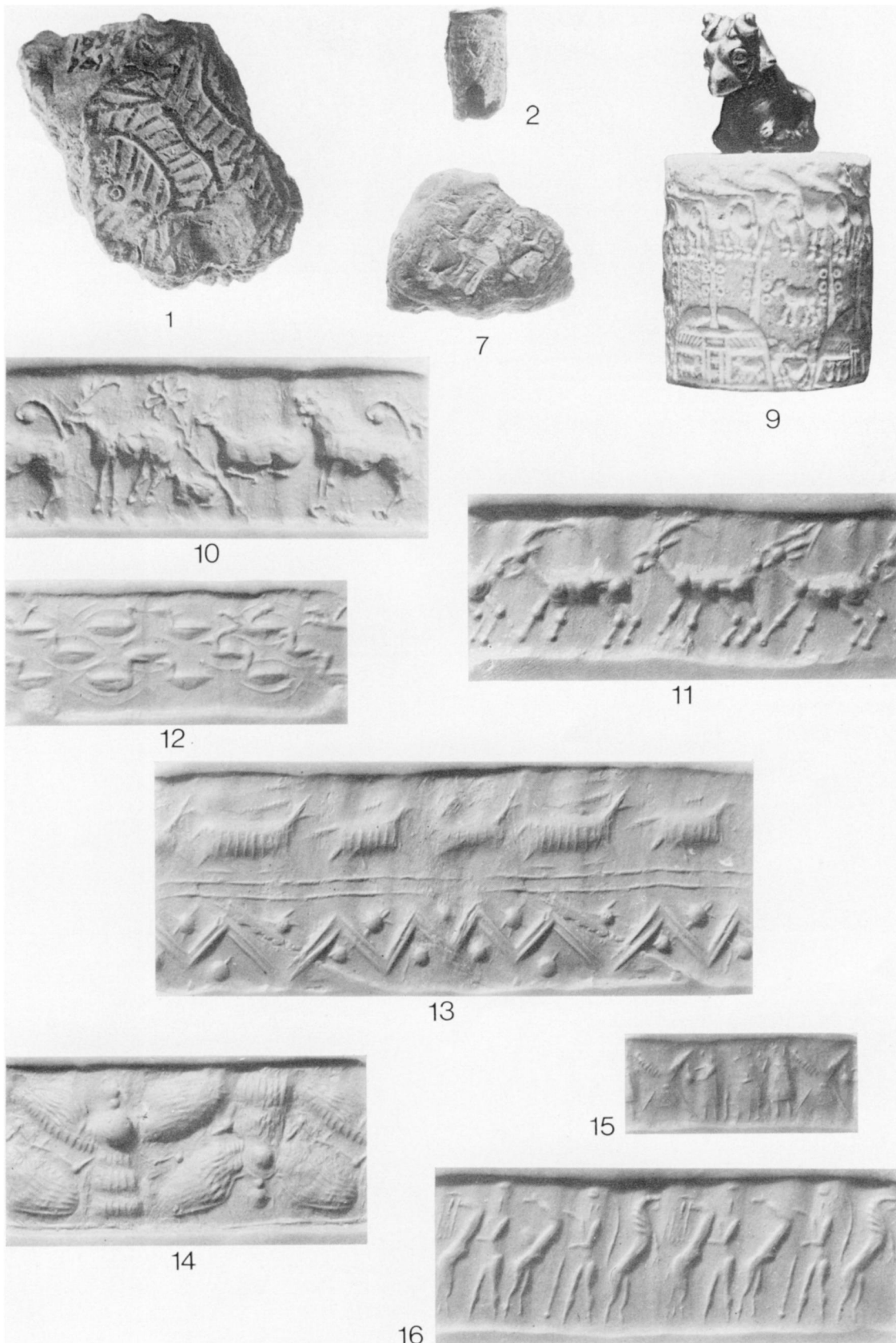


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Fig. 1





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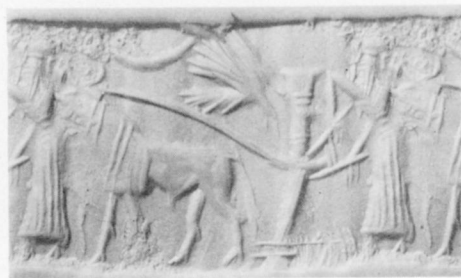
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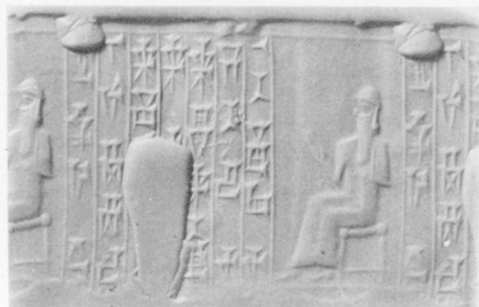
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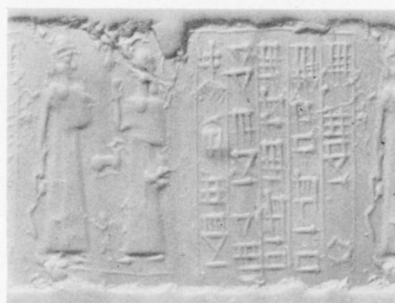
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PLATE IX



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83

The Hittite Title Tuhkanti-

Author(s): O. R. Gurney

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## THE HITTITE TITLE *TUHKANTI-*

By O. R. GURNEY

The so-called Tawagalawas Letter — the longest and most controversial document in the Ahhiyawa dossier — opens with the well-known incident in which (as hitherto understood) Tawagalawas sends a message to the Hittite king demanding recognition as a vassal and requesting the dispatch of the *tuhkanti-* to conduct him into the royal presence. The king dispatches the *TARTĒNU*, one of his sons, but Tawagalawas refuses to go with him and demands immediate recognition on the spot. The demand is refused and the king protests to the king of Ahhiyawa in this letter about the insult inflicted on his representative.

Dr. Itamar Singer has shown, in an article later in this volume, that the applicant for vassalhood was most probably not Tawagalawas at all but Piyamaradus, whose activities are the subject of the rest of the document. The present article however is concerned rather with the rank of the envoy sent by the Hittite king.

In his *editio princeps* of 1929 E. Forrer assumed without question that the king had complied with the initial request and that *TARTĒNU* was simply the Akkadogram for *tuhkanti-*, translating both words “Feldmarschall”.<sup>1</sup> A. Götze in his review of Forrer’s work,<sup>2</sup> and F. Sommer in his own commentary on the text,<sup>3</sup> both pointed out that the identity of meaning was unproven, and both suggested that the behaviour of Tawagalawas would be more easily explicable if the Hittite king had in fact not complied but had sent a person of inferior rank, and their view has been generally accepted.<sup>4</sup> They were able to make this suggestion because the title *TARTĒNU* was then very sparsely attested in the Hittite archives. Götze was aware that elsewhere the *TARTĒNU* appeared to be none other than the crown prince and second only to the king himself, but thought it might have been otherwise in the Hittite kingdom. Sommer left the word untranslated, though he gave it the meaning “etwa Feldmarschall, Gouverneur” in his index. However, the new evidence from Ugarit enabled M. Liverani to show conclusively that in the Hittite kingdom also the *TARTĒNU* was indeed the crown prince,<sup>5</sup> and the lists of tribute RS 11.732, 17.227 and 17.347<sup>6</sup> provide ample proof, if any was needed, that the heir to the throne ranked immediately next to the king and the queen and above all other princes and officials. The explanation of the incident proposed by Götze and Sommer has thus in fact long since been invalidated. Tawagalawas cannot have refused to go with the *TARTĒNU* on the ground that he was not of sufficiently exalted rank. He was simply adopting the familiar bargaining technique of “raising the stakes” as soon as a conciliatory gesture was made by the other party. If the *tuhkanti-* and the *TARTĒNU* are not the same person we should have to suppose that the Hittite king had actually sent a representative of even higher rank than Tawagalawas had

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<sup>1</sup> E. Forrer, *Forschungen* I, 2. Heft (Berlin, 1929), 99. n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *OLZ* XXVII, 1930, 288.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Ahhijawā-Urkunden* (1932), 36–8.

<sup>4</sup> Götze, *RHA* XII/54 (1952), 9; Gurney, *The Hittites* (1952), 48; D. L. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (1959), 11; H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens* I (1965), 90 n. 25; S. R. Bin-Nun, *RHA* XXXI (1973), 13; T. R. Bryce, *Orientalia* 48 (1979), 92.

<sup>5</sup> M. Liverani, *Oriens Antiquus* I (1962), 254.

<sup>6</sup> J. Nougayrol, *Le Palais royal d’Ugarit*, IV (1956), pp. 47–8, 42 and 44 respectively.

requested. It seems more likely that Forrer's intuition has once again been proved to have hit the mark.

The main objection to taking *tuhkanti-* as the Hittite word for "crown prince" has always been the appearance of Nerikkaili, a son of Hattusili III, as DUMU.LUGAL *tuhkanti-* both in the Ulmi-Teshub Treaty, *KBo.* IV 10 (*CTH* 106), a text of Hattusili,<sup>7</sup> and in the "Title-Deed of Sahurunuwa" (*CTH* 225),<sup>8</sup> which stands in the names of Tudhaliya IV and his mother, Puduhepa. For Nerikkaili certainly never came to the throne, and, as pointed out by Sommer, the same man could not be crown-prince in two successive reigns. In 1947 E. Laroche showed that the group of witnesses among whom the name of Nerikkaili appears is almost the same in both documents and concluded that the documents should therefore be roughly contemporary, the treaty being either also from the reign of Tudhaliya or from the very end of the reign of Hattusili.<sup>9</sup> He failed, however, to show that the actual treaty, as it stands, was capable of being interpreted satisfactorily as a text of Tudhaliya,<sup>10</sup> and in recent years E. I. Gordon, P. H. J. Houwink ten Cate and Fiorella Imparati have all for various reasons expressed their conviction that it dates from the reign of Hattusili.<sup>11</sup> Is the difficulty seen by Sommer then insuperable?

There is, I believe, a way out of the dilemma which has not yet been suggested. The list of human witnesses appended to *KBo.* IV 10 is a very unusual feature in a treaty. Its legal significance was discussed in 1965 by E. von Schuler, who pointed out that it is a feature borrowed from private law and especially from the formulary of royal grants and decrees, its purpose being to give authenticity to the actual document.<sup>12</sup> He drew attention to the close parallel with the

<sup>7</sup>For an almost complete translation see Garstang and Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* (1959), 66–9. §7 (obv. 40–47), of which a separate duplicate tablet is preserved (*ABOT* 57, *CTH* 97), is certainly a text of Hattusili, explicitly inserted into an earlier treaty by means of a transitional passage in the first person (§6). But since the beneficiary of this section, <sup>d</sup>LAMA-aš (read Kurunta, as shown by Houwink ten Cate and E. I. Gordon, see *JCS* XXI, 71 nn. 4, 6) is known to have been appointed by Hattusili as the first king of Tarhuntassa (formerly read Dattassa), the earlier treaty itself must also have been composed by Hattusili. Yet the treaty is in the name of Ulmi-Teshub, a personage who is mentioned in *KUB* XXI 37 in connexion with the civil war that brought Hattusili to the throne. Undoubtedly the simplest explanation for these facts is to suppose that Ulmi-Teshub and Kurunta are two names for the same man, as suggested by Güterbock, *JNES* 20, 86 n. 3. See also n. 10, below.

<sup>8</sup>Now edited, with commentary, by F. Imparati, "Una concessione di terre da parte di Tudhaliya IV", *RHA* XXXII (1974).

<sup>9</sup>E. Laroche, "Un point d'histoire: Ulmi-Teshub", *RHA* VIII/48, 40 ff.

<sup>10</sup>Laroche supposed – and others have followed him – that Ulmi-Teshub was the successor of Kurunta and that *KBo.* IV 10 is the new treaty made with him on his accession, the old treaty with Kurunta being taken over and incorporated with simple substitution of the new name, rather in the way that the stipulations from an old treaty by Suppiluliuma were taken over and reworked by Hattusili for his new treaty with Benteshina (*KBo.* I 8 obv. 28 ff.). Presumably Laroche thought of the later paragraphs, §§10–15, as new clauses added on this occasion, though he does not make this clear; this was certainly the view of E. von Schuler, *Anadolu Araştırmaları* II (Bossert-Gedenkschrift, 1965), 457. If so, however, these paragraphs too must have been composed by Hattusili, since they refer to "the boundaries that I have set for him and what I afterwards gave him". There is no part of this treaty that can be ascribed to Tudhaliya. The case is quite different from that of the Benteshina Treaty, the "I" of which is Hattusili throughout. But if the author of this supposed new treaty substituted the name of Ulmi-Teshub for that of Kurunta in the earlier paragraphs, why did he leave this name unchanged in §7? This would be an unaccountable lapse.

<sup>11</sup>Gordon, *JCS* XXI (1967), 71 n. 6; Houwink ten Cate, *Anatolian Studies presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock* (1974), 138 n. 54; Imparati, op. cit. (n. 8), 142–4.

<sup>12</sup>E. von Schuler, *Anadolu Araştırmaları* II (Bossert-Gedenkschrift), 455–64, especially 461.

Aleppo Treaty, *KBo.* I 6 (*CTH* 75), which ends with a similar list of witnesses. But the Aleppo Treaty has a preamble, explaining that the original treaty drawn up by Mursili II had been stolen and his successor, Muwatalli, caused an exact duplicate to be inscribed; this was then authenticated by the assembled dignitaries who appear as witnesses at the end. Thus the witnesses belong to a later reign than the treaty itself. Now the beginning of *KBo.* IV 10 is lost, but in view of this unique analogy it is surely a reasonable hypothesis that something of the same sort had occurred and the tablet had contained a similar preamble, explaining that Tudhaliya had caused this treaty drawn up by his father to be copied out verbatim and authenticated. In this way it is possible to account for a treaty of Hattusili bearing a list of high-ranking witnesses who belong to the reign of his successor.<sup>13</sup>

On this hypothesis, the appearance of Nerikkaili as *tuhkanti-* in these two documents would present no further difficulty. We may suppose that at the beginning of his reign the young Tudhaliya, having as yet no legitimate son, invested his brother, Nerikkaili, with the title of *tuhkanti-* as "heir presumptive", to be transferred in due course to his son, Arnuwanda, either at birth or when he came of age.

The objection raised by Goetze in 1952, that in Ugaritic the equivalent of DUMU.LUGAL as crown prince is *ūtryn*,<sup>14</sup> is inconclusive, since there is no reason why Ugaritic and Hittite should not have had different words for "crown prince".

Dr. S. R. Bin-Nun, however, assuming from the start that the Tawagalawas episode ruled out the possibility that *TARTĒNU* and *tuhkanti-* were equivalent terms, has now argued that the case of Nerikkaili was not the exception but the norm: according to her theory, the *tuhkanti-* (= GAL *MEŠEDI*) was *always* the king's brother, the heir presumptive, and she goes so far as to state that we do not know of any *tuhkanti-* who was a son of the reigning king.<sup>15</sup> She claims to have shown that the only other *tuhkanti-* known by name, the Tudhaliya DUMU.LUGAL *tuhkantiš* of the land deed *KBo.* V 7 (*CTH* 223) and the military oath, *KUB* XXXI 42 (*CTH* 260), was also the brother, not the son, of the king Arnuwanda with whom he is there associated. She fails, however, to consider the well-known *šarašši-* ("royalty") ritual, *CTH* 700, which refers to a Tudhaliya who ascended the throne of his father Arnuwanda. In the whole line of Hittite kings there is no record of such a Tudhaliya, son of Arnuwanda, unless this Tudhaliya, the *tuhkanti-*, is he, as suggested long ago by Laroche and Goetze.<sup>16</sup> This absolutely clear piece of evidence outweighs the slight illogicality of the military oath which refers to the descendants of the princes as if they did not include those of the *tuhkanti-*, and we are obliged to accept this Tudhaliya as the crown prince, as others have done. The sequence Arnuwanda LUGAL.GAL *Ašmunikal* SAL.LUGAL.GAL *ū Tudhaliya* DUMU.LUGAL *tuhkantiš* is exactly paralleled by the documents of Suppiluliuma from Ugarit which have LUGAL, SAL.LUGAL, DUMU.LUGAL (*TARTĒNU*) and the decree of the same king *KUB* XIX 25 (see

<sup>13</sup> Miss E. R. Jewell, in her dissertation *The Archaeology and History of Western Anatolia during the second millennium B.C.* (Philadelphia, 1974) has pointed out (p. 230) that if the list of witnesses had dated from the reign of Hattusili we might have expected to find the name of Tudhaliya GAL *MEŠEDI* (see below) among them.

<sup>14</sup> A. Götz, "Hittite courtiers and their titles", *RHA* XII/54 (1952), 1 ff., especially p. 4 (on *ūtryn* = Hurr.(?) *\*ušriyanni*) and p. 9 n. 23.

<sup>15</sup> S. R. Bin-Nun, "The offices of GAL.*MEŠEDI* and *tuhkanti* in the Hittite kingdom", *RHA* XXXI (1973), 5 ff., especially p. 15.

<sup>16</sup> Laroche, *RAss.* XLVII (1953), 78 n. 6; Goetze, *JCS* XI (1957), 58 n. 60.

below), with its *Suppiluliuma* LUGAL.GAL, *Henti* SAL.LUGAL.GAL., *Arnuwanda* DUMU.LUGAL, though here the name of *Zida* [GAL MEŠEDI] is added. To compare the position of Tudhaliya DUMU.LUGAL *tuhkanti*- with that of *Zida* in XIX 25 rather than with that of *Arnuwanda* is to ignore the evidence from Ras Shamra.<sup>17</sup>

The argument for *tuhkanti*- = “heir designate”<sup>18</sup> is, I would submit, clinched by a proper understanding of the controversial miniature treaty (*išhiul*), *KBo.* I 28 (*CTH* 57). Sommer refuted Forrer’s interpretation of this document but refrained from offering an alternative.<sup>19</sup> Götze correctly grasped the grammatical structure,<sup>20</sup> and his readings and restorations were adopted by Klengel, who also collated the tablet,<sup>21</sup> but both failed to see the significance of the text. Dr. Bin-Nun has now produced a new translation which would require a *nu* at the beginning of lines 14 and 17, ignores Klengel’s collation, inserts too many signs into the lacuna in line 17 for the available space, but still does not really make sense.<sup>22</sup>

The key to the interpretation of this treaty is surely a comparison with the similar treaty imposed by Suppiluliuma I on his son, Telipinu, on his installation as priest in Kizzuwadna, *KUB* XIX 25 (*CTH* 44). The king seeks to ensure that his son will not use his new power to interfere with the succession to the Hittite throne. Telipinu has to swear to acknowledge Arnuwanda, the crown prince, in his lordship (AŠ-ŠUM EN-UT-TIM) and not to desire anyone else.<sup>23</sup> The treaty with Piyassili is directed particularly to his descendants, but has the same purpose. The central passage, obv. 6–19, may be restored and translated as follows:

6. A-NA <sup>m</sup>pi-ia-aš-ši-li [ . . . . .
7. ŠEŠ.DÜG.GA-IA A-NA DUMU.M[EŠ-ŠU]
8. DUMU.MEŠ DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU zi-la-t[i-ia]
9. šal-la-an-ni ki-i iš-hi-ú-ul
10. i-ia-nu-un ŠA <sup>m</sup>pi-ia-ši-li
11. ku-iš DUMU-ŠU DUMU-DUMU-ŠU
12. na-aš-ma ku-iš ku-iš ŠA <sup>m</sup>pi-ia-ši-li
13. NUMUN-aš I-NA KUR kar-ga-miš
14. šal-li pi-e-da-an ti-ia-zi
15. nu A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI ku-iš
16. <sup>lú</sup>tu-uh-kán-ti-iš
17. [na-aš-za A-N]A LUGAL KUR kar-ga-miš<sup>24</sup>
18. [<sup>lú</sup>tu-uh-kán-t]i-iš-pát I-aš
19. [še-ik-kán-za] e-eš-du

<sup>17</sup> So Bin-Nun, op. cit., p. 14 (top).

<sup>18</sup> Gurney, *CAH*<sup>3</sup> II, Part I, 672. The title may have been conferred rather than inherited, possibly together with a throne name; cf. Bin-Nun, op. cit., 18. No new name, however, was conferred on Nerikkaili.

<sup>19</sup> Sommer, op. cit., 37.

<sup>20</sup> Götze, loc. cit. (n. 14).

<sup>21</sup> H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens* I (1965), 53 ff. and 90 n. 22.

<sup>22</sup> The statement “only a son or a descendant of the king of Carchemish shall be sole *tuhkanti*” (i.e. to the Hittite king) would be contradicted by the preceding clause “whoever is to my Majesty *tuhkanti*”, implying that the appointment was in fact open to others. The structure of the sentence clearly requires that “he alone” should refer back to this clause, as seen by Goetze and Klengel.

<sup>23</sup> *KUB* XIX 25 i 10–12, translated by Goetze, *Kizzuwatna* (1940), 14.

<sup>24</sup> Goetze’s restoration [na-aš A-N]A does not fill the lacuna. Dr. Bin-Nun overfills it and takes no account of the collation by Klengel, who saw traces of a head of a vertical after the “hook”. The addition of the particle -za fills the space exactly and enables the lacuna in line 19 to be restored as [še-ik-kán-za] (cf. Goetze, *JCS* XXII, 8–9).

(6–8) For Piyassili [. . . .], my dear brother, for his son[s] (and) his grandsons for the future, (9) for the “elevation (to power)” this treaty (10) I have made. (10–14) Whatever son (or) grandson of Piyassili or whatever descendant of Piyassili mounts the high place<sup>25</sup>, (15–16) then whoever is heir designate to His Majesty, (17–19) that same man shall be the [recognized] heir designate [fo]r the King of Carchemish.

Thus there is no question of the title *tuhkanti-* being conferred on Piyassili and his descendants. The purpose of the treaty is explicitly *šallanni* “for the elevation”, which can hardly be separated from the *šalli pedan* of line 14 and comes to mean virtually “for the succession” almost as a technical term. The word has already been compared by Laroche with Hier. Hitt. (382) *sà-la-ha-za*<sup>26</sup>, the contexts of which, as shown by J. D. Hawkins, provide a striking parallel.<sup>27</sup>

The *tuhkanti-* participated with the king in certain rituals (*KBo.* XIX 161 and 163, cf. Bin-Nun, op. cit. 12–13). This could well be the crown-prince. Similarly in an oath of loyalty, *KUB* XXIII 4:6, *ZI-TI* <sup>lu</sup>*tu-hu-kán-t[i]* “the life of the *tuhkanti-*” follows immediately after *ZI-TI* <sup>D</sup>*UTU-ŠI* “the life of His Majesty”. Other occurrences of the word are in broken contexts and cannot be used as evidence.<sup>28</sup> It may perhaps be suggested, however, that the fragment *KUB* XXIII 61, which mentions on its obverse “my father Mursili”, the king of Carchemish and the land of Amurru, and on its reverse a Tudhaliya, with a few lines earlier a *tuhkantiš* and the town of Ishupitta, could well be part of Hattusili III’s “historical review”, *CTH* 83, which contains on its obverse an account of the campaigns of Suppiluliuma, Mursili and Muwatalli, and on its reverse a lively narrative of the exploits of Tudhaliya as *GAL MEŠEDI*, apparently at the age of 12.<sup>29</sup> If the connexion could be proved, the *tuhkanti-* of rev. 4 and the Tudhaliya of rev. 7 would almost certainly be one and the same; for at that time Tudhaliya was certainly the “heir apparent”. It must not be forgotten, however, that if ever a join should be made to this fragment and the name at the end of rev. 3 should turn out to be Nerikkaili, the whole question would have to be reconsidered. As usual in such matters, we are only offering what seems to be the most likely interpretation of the evidence at present available.

This note is dedicated to Richard Barnett in consideration of his unflagging interest in Hittite matters, and as a token of long-standing friendship and admiration.

<sup>25</sup> Accus. of direction, see Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* II, 40, with n. 1. The verb is used of mounting a chariot (X 18 I 12, 22) or a horse (VII 25 I 6).

<sup>26</sup> Laroche, *Les Hiéroglyphes Hittites* (1960), s.v. no. 382, 2 (with the new reading *za* for *i*).

<sup>27</sup> *AS* XXX (1980), 148–9.

<sup>28</sup> *KBo.* XII 8 obv. I 10, XVIII 19 rev. 15, *KUB* XXIII 39:1, 61 rev. 4.

<sup>29</sup> On this composition see H. Hoffner, *Orientalia* 49 (1980), 316–7, and for the rev. K. Riemschneider, *JCS* XVI (1962), 110 ff., especially 118–20. The fact that Tudhaliya appears here as *GAL MEŠEDI* refutes Dr. Bin-Nun’s claim that this office is always held by the king’s brother. She has overlooked this text. There is room for XXIII 61 in the right column of either XIX 8 or XIX 9.

The Treaty with Ulmi-Tešub

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## THE TREATY WITH ULMI-TEŠUB

By O. R. GURNEY

The treaty of a Hittite king, whose name is lost, with Ulmi-Tešub, king of Tarhuntassa (*KBo*. IV 10 + *KUB* XL 69 + 1548/u, *CTH* 106) is a complex and problematic document. Published as a hand-copy by Forrer in 1920, no modern edition of the text has yet appeared in print.<sup>1</sup> It contains an unusually full description of the boundaries of Ulmi-Tešub's vassal kingdom, and in order to provide a sound basis for the reconstruction of Hittite political geography I contributed a translation of the boundary description and of most of the other clauses to John Garstang's book *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* in 1959. J. Lorenz, a student of Marburg University, prepared an edition in 1986 as a dissertation, but this has remained unpublished.<sup>2</sup> The same is true of a similar edition prepared in 1989 for the University of Amsterdam by T. van den Hout, though this is understood to have gone to press.<sup>3</sup> Dr. van den Hout, however, has published his views on this treaty in some detail in an article "A Chronology of the Tarhuntassa Treaties" in *JCS* 41 (1989), 100–14, where he introduces the text in his first sentence as "*KBo* 4 10 (*CTH* 106), the treaty between Tudhaliya IV and Ulmi-Tešub, king of Tarhuntassa". In 1983, however, in *AnSt* 33 p. 100, I had declared my conviction that the treaty is "a text of Hattusili" and had even written "there is no part of this treaty that can be ascribed to Tudhaliya". It is the purpose of this article to defend my position and to add some further remarks on the relation of the kingdom of Tarhuntassa to the Land of the River Hulaya.

### 1. THE ASCRIPTION TO TUDHALIYA

Van den Hout's reasons for ascribing the text to Tudhaliya are simple and straightforward. By an argument based on cross-dating with Egypt he was able to show in *RA* 78 (1984), 89–91, that Kurunta,<sup>4</sup> the king whom Hattusili had appointed as first king of Tarhuntassa, survived into the reign of Tudhaliya; the discovery of the treaty of Tudhaliya with Kurunta on the Bronze Tablet in 1986 merely confirmed this for him. Since he assumed from the start, following Laroche, that Ulmi-Tešub was Kurunta's successor (*ibid.* pp. 89 and 91), it followed inevitably that the treaty with him must have been made by Tudhaliya. Güterbock's alternative suggestion of 1961, that this was a further case of "double names", a practice then recently established for certain rulers and

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<sup>1</sup>The edition by V. Korošec in Slovenian, "Podelitev hetitske pokrajine Dattašše Ulmi-Tešupu (= *KBo* IV 10)", Akademija Znanosti in Umjetnosti v Ljubljani, Pravni Razred, Razprave, Band 2, 53–112 (Ljubljana, 1943), is not available to me. Dattašše (in this title), Dattassa, Tattashsha, (e.g. in Garstang-Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, and in Goetze's chapters of the *Cambridge Ancient History*) etc., are old readings of textual <sup>d</sup>U-ta-aš-ša, now replaced by Tarhuntassa. See H. Otten, *Die Bronzetafel von Boğazköy*, 3 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup>"Der Vertrag mit Ulmi-Tešub von <sup>d</sup>U-tašša (*CTH* 106)", Hausarbeit vorgelegt am Fachbereich 11—ausereuropäische Sprachen und Kulturen—der Philipps-Universität, Marburg, von Jürgen Lorenz (1986). I owe my knowledge of this work to the kindness of Dr. Silvin Košak.

<sup>3</sup>I owe my knowledge of this work to the kindness of Mr. David Hawkins.

<sup>4</sup>For the reading of <sup>d</sup>LAMMA-a as *Kurunta* see P. Houwink ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period* (Leiden, 1961), 130; Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites*, no. 652; and E. Gordon, *JCS* 21, 71 n. 6.

princes of the Empire period, he dismisses without serious argument.<sup>5</sup> Instead he attempts to show by a close analysis of the text that not only the main treaty but even the separate regulations for the military and religious levy inscribed on a separate tablet (*ABOT* 57) and inserted into it as §§ 7–8 can be interpreted as texts of Tudhaliya. In fact, however, this attribution can be shown to create a series of anomalies that cumulatively defy belief.

The tablet admittedly has the characteristics of a first draft. Van den Hout has collated it in Berlin and has found that §§ 6–8 are inscribed in smaller script than the rest of the tablet.<sup>6</sup> Since there is an empty space between the end of § 8 and the resumption of the main text, it seems clear that in drafting the treaty the scribe had left a gap for the insertion but had left more space than was actually needed. Now rev. 21–22 state: “What I, my Majesty, have given to Ulmi-Tešub, king of the land of Tarhuntassa, the boundaries that I have set for him and what I afterwards gave him, I have inscribed on an iron tablet.” The preterite tense suggests that the iron tablet had already been inscribed. Van den Hout, however, proposes that *KBo* IV 10 is actually a draft for the iron tablet;<sup>7</sup> we are to imagine the text as if it were written on the iron tablet itself, the preterite tense expressing its completion. This is probably correct, and it means that anomalies could have been eliminated in the process of redaction. We must always ask, however, how they could have arisen in the first place. On the further implications of the sentence just quoted, see below (1.3).

### 1.1. *The boundary description.*

The Bronze Tablet has proved that *KBo* IV 10 obv. 16'–37' (the boundary description and the concessions about summer pasture) are an extract from a treaty of Hattusili. For where *KBo* IV 10 obv. 22'–23' has “towards Mt. Kuwaliyatta, on the first tablets Suttasna was the boundary for him, but now I, the great king, have made Santimma the boundary for him, and Santimma belongs to the land of the River Hulaya”, the Bronze Tablet has “towards Mt. Kuwaliyatta, in the first tablets of my father Suttasna was made the boundary for him, but then my father himself came and made Santimma the boundary for him, and Santimma belongs to the land of the River Hulaya”. This therefore was the second treaty made between Hattusili and Kurunta (the first having been on more than one tablet) and is duly entered so by van den Hout in the table of successive treaties on p. 114 of the article.

Now according to van den Hout, when the scribes came to prepare Tudhaliya's new treaty with Ulmi-Tešub, they “pulled out the Tarhuntassa file and compiled a ‘new’ treaty. . . . They copied the second Hattusili treaty, now lost to us, to produce obv. 16'–37'. Where Hattusili used a first person singular or talked about himself as ‘My Majesty’ or ‘the great king’ the scribes did not need to change anything”. But this is not so. The clause just quoted—and the later clause on the grazing rights at Sarmana (= Bronze Tablet § 11)—show that in such an exercise statements of the father's actions would not be allowed to remain in the first person but would be altered. The pronoun “for him” would also have had to be removed if there had been a change of vassal. In any case

<sup>5</sup> Dissertation § 6.3; *JCS* 41, 106. Here Güterbock's proposal is lumped together with Laroche's and Goetze's treatment of ll. 41'–42' and dismissed on the ground that “all of these proposed explanations must allow for a scribal error”. This is an allusion to obv. 41'–42', on which see below with n. 12.

<sup>6</sup> *JCS* 41, 112 n. 30.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 112.

Ulmi-Tešub would have known that the statement quoted was untrue of Tudhaliya, since he had made no further change here; the boundary would not have been at Suttasna since the beginning of Hattusili's reign and the place would have been of no interest to Ulmi-Tešub. And why did they skip the latest treaty—the Bronze Tablet—and pull out a treaty of the previous generation? Van den Hout suggests that they did not want to draw attention to the extra concessions that Tudhaliya had made to Kurunta and was now withdrawing. Hattusili, however, had not hesitated to include details (*KBo* IV 10 obv. 22'–23') at a point where, as we now know from Bronze Tablet I 22, he had “narrowed” the boundary. We may concede that if, for whatever reason, it had been decided to use the older text as a basis, this first draft could have been altered later; but is it credible that the scribes would have taken the trouble to copy out the old text word for word, knowing full well that many clauses would have to be drastically rewritten?

### 1.2. The levy regulations

This is crucial. In his treaty with Kurunta (Bronze Tablet III 59) Tudhaliya introduces the section on the levy as follows:

(59) <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI=*kan mahḥan ŠA LUGAL KUR* <sup>d</sup>U-*tašša* (60) *ŠA DINGIR*<sup>meš uru</sup> <sup>d</sup>U-*tašša šahḥan luzzi katta uḥhun* (61) *na=at daššu UL=at=ši tarḥuwaš*

“When I, my Majesty, inspected the levy (*šahḥan luzzi*) for the gods of Tarhuntassa, imposed on the king of Tarhuntassa, it was excessive, not to be borne by him.”

The corresponding section (§ 7) in *KBo* IV 10 has

(40) *GIM-an* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI *I-NA* <sup>d</sup>U-*tašša uwanun* (41) *nu ŠA DINGIR-LIM šahḥan išḫiul uḥhun* (42) *na=at daššešta UL=ši=ia=at tarḥuwaš*

“When I, my Majesty, came to Tarhuntassa, I saw the treaty about the levy (*šahḥan*) for the god. It was excessive, not to be borne by him.”

These look like two reports of a single visit made by Tudhaliya preparatory to the drafting of the treaty with Kurunta inscribed on the Bronze Tablet. Assuming this to be so, van den Hout proceeds to interpret *ABoT* 57 and the corresponding section in *KBo* IV 10 as if they were written by Tudhaliya. Whereas in the treaty with Kurunta Tudhaliya had simply remitted the *šahḥan* and *luzzi*<sup>8</sup> and (apparently as a separate item) also the garrison duties,<sup>9</sup> in the new treaty he would have solved the problem by redeploying the personnel released from the garrison duties in the service of the gods. Yet the Bronze Tablet declares explicitly that the garrison duties had long since been abolished by Hattusili: “The chariotry and troop contingents of the Hulaya River Land which the administration in Hatti laid down for you, my father Hattusili remitted for him, and I also, my Majesty, have remitted them for him. . . . Troops will not be required of him by the administration. . . . They will not do garrison duties.”<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> III 47–56 and 64–70.

<sup>9</sup> 86/299 III 32 ff. See below, and cf. *JCS* 41, 107.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. III 32–34, 36, 42. I adopt Otten's translation rather than that of van den Hout, p. 112. The intervening lines refer to military contingents required for campaigns. Similar stipulations also follow in *KBo* IV 10 and *ABoT* 57, but they are different—not because the vassals are different people as alleged by van den Hout, but because the regulations were made by different kings at different times.

Moreover Tudhaliya had himself abolished the *šahhan* and *luzzi* for Kurunta. It is inconceivable that at this moment a measure should have been introduced ordaining that the *šahhan* duties should be discharged by redeploying men released from the garrison duties. There were no such men and no such duties! This measure can only have been introduced by Hattusili. Whether or not there was another document of Hattusili, now lost, dealing only with the garrison duties,<sup>11</sup> this one proves that it was Hattusili who first visited Tarhuntassa, found the *šahhan* excessive, remitted the garrison duties, and redeployed the garrison troops for the *šahhan*. Hence the reference to the regime under Muwatalli, which would have been ancient history to Ulmi-Tešub if he had been Kurunta's successor. The similarity in the wording used to describe the two visits could be simply coincidence, or Tudhaliya might have deliberately imitated the words of his father. It is perhaps surprising that Tudhaliya should still have found the *šahhan* excessive, but the abolition of these duties is consonant with his specially favourable treatment of Kurunta.

But van den Hout claims to have a stronger reason for ascribing the special treaty on the levy to Tudhaliya: the change of person in *KBo* IV 10 obv. 42' in the middle of the military levy clause § 7, where the text moves suddenly from KUR-TI-ŠU "his country" to *nu-ut-ta* "and to you" (for the sake of clarity I print the text as three distinct sentences):

(i) *kinun=ma* LUGAL SAL.LUGAL=*ia* <sup>m</sup> <sup>d</sup>LAMMA-*an* I-NA <sup>uru</sup> <sup>d</sup>U-*tašša*  
LUGAL-*un iyer*

(ii) *nu=za* ŠA DINGIR-LIM *šahhana* IŠTU KUR-TI=ŠU UL *tarhta*

(iii) *nu=tta* LUGAL SAL.LUGAL=*ia* *kī išhiul iyer*

Since sentence (iii) declares that the king and queen have made "this treaty" —i.e. the treaty about the levy—"with you", and sentence (i) states that "now the king and queen have appointed Kurunta as king"—well known to be an act of Hattusili and Puduhepa—all previous commentators have treated the sudden change to second person as a minor lapse, of no importance to the

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<sup>11</sup>So apparently van den Hout, *JCS* 41, 112, because of the change of person from "you" to "him" in the lines here quoted, which he would explain by the assumption that a document of Hattusili couched in the second person is quoted verbatim and the scribe forgot to make the redactional change to third person required by the context. *KBo* IV 10 differs not only in being in the third person at this point but also in transposing the words "in Hatti" and "of the Hulaya River Land". However, this must be an error: the genitive should certainly follow its regens and the administration must have been "in Hatti". The passages are otherwise identical except for the difference of person. Frequent changes of person are characteristic of these two documents, *KBo* IV 10 and the Bronze Tablet, and van den Hout seeks to explain them all as marks of juncture where an extract from an old treaty has been inserted, or in some other way (as in *KBo* IV 10 obv. 41'–42', see below). He rejects the possibility of a simple mistake on principle as being "only permissible if textual problems cannot otherwise be solved" (cf. n. 6 above). This is indeed an admirable principle, but it has to be weighed not only against strictly textual problems but also against other anomalies such as are here discussed. Even he is unable to explain away one such error in *KBo* IV 10 rev. 12 (*JCS* 41 106 n. 20). If the scribes occasionally slipped into an unnecessary change of person in this way, the criterion cannot be used as an infallible rule. In any case for this simple statement of fact the scribe would not have needed to copy from the original text.

meaning:<sup>12</sup> the treaty on the levy would have been written by Hattusili and Puduḥepa shortly after their appointment of Kurunta as king and later incorporated into their new treaty with Ulmi-Tešub. Lorenz and van den Hout, however, maintained that in spite of the use of *kinun* “now”, which seemed to imply that Kurunta was still on the throne, the abrupt change of person in *nu-ut-ta* shows that the levy treaty was itself made with the new king, Ulmi-Tešub,<sup>13</sup> though Lorenz held firmly to the view that the author of this treaty was Hattusili: “betrachtet man den Truppenvertrag . . . *KBo* 4/10 vs. 40–49 näher, so steht ohne jeden Zweifel fest, dass er in dieser Form nur von Hattusili III abgeschlossen worden sein konnte.” He wrote, however, before the discovery of the Bronze Tablet which, as mentioned above, rules out this possibility. If Ulmi-Tešub was Kurunta’s successor, the treaty must have been written by Tudhaliya, as van den Hout saw, and he proceeded to argue accordingly.

The translations given by van den Hout and Lorenz are as follows:

(van den Hout) “. . . (At that moment) the king and the queen made Kurunta king in Tarhuntašša. He could not fulfil the levy for the deity from his country, and with you the king and the queen established the following treaty.”<sup>14</sup>

(Lorenz) “Jetzt aber hatten der König und die Königin den <sup>d</sup>KAL in <sup>d</sup>U-t[āšša] zum König gemacht; und er konnte das *šahḥan* des Gottes aus seinem Land nicht aufbringen. (Deshalb) haben der König und die Königin dir diesen Vertrag gemacht.”

Both authors know well that *kinun* means “now”, often in contrast to a past situation introduced by an adverb such as *karū*, *annišan*, or *apiya*. This is a regular stylistic feature of historical texts.<sup>15</sup> When used with a preterite, *kinun* normally expresses a past event resulting in a present state such as is rendered in English by a perfect tense. Examples are

1. Kup. § 8 C 23 ff.: “Now I have done you no harm, have not rejected you, have not taken away your father’s house or your country, but have given them back to you, have even appointed you as ruler in the land and have given you the countries of Mira and Kuwaliya.”  
Contrast: § 7 beginning *annišan* “formerly”, recounting the sins of Mashuiluwa.
2. Madd. rev. 62: “Now Mulliyara has come and found the fugitive in his house and is saying to Madduwatta ‘Seize him!’ ”  
Contrast: (61) “the first time (*ḥantezzi palši*) Madduwatta had declared ‘No-one has come to me’.”
3. Taw. IV 44: “Now an evil word has proceeded out of my brother’s mouth. Let us investigate this matter.”

<sup>12</sup>Götze, *NBr* 56, assumed a scribal error (“his” for “your”) in the previous sentence. E. von Schuler, *Anadolu Araştırmaları* II (Bossert-Gedenkschrift), 456, passed it without comment. In *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, p. 68, I did not consider it worth more than an exclamation mark. Cf. Otten’s treatment of Bronze Tablet III 33, a similar case.

<sup>13</sup>So also Hoffner in *Anatolia and the Ancient Near East, Studies in Honor of Tahsin Özgüç* (Ankara, 1989), 201 n. 36. But if this had been the intention, why did he immediately revert to the third person for the terms of the treaty itself? In fact this whole section, except the *nu-ut-ta*, is consistently in the third person.

<sup>14</sup>*JCS* 41, 106.

<sup>15</sup>Cf. Laroche, *RHA* VIII/48, 46.

Contrast: (32) “formerly (*karū*) my brother wrote to me ‘You have insulted me’.”

4. Götze, *AM* 112, *KBo* IV 4 II 8–11: “And now, because they have broken the oaths, I have said ‘Let the oath gods wreak [their vengeance]!’”

Contrast: (8) “Even then (*apiya=ia*) I did not take PN into allegiance” (contrast not understood by Götze or by Sommer *HAB* 147).

5. *KBo* IX 82 obv. 8 (= 16*THeth* no. 97): “Now, the next morning, you sent him off, but he—your man—has not arrived(?)”

Contrast: “When I left Uda I said to my lord ‘Tomorrow morning a man should come after (me).’”

Here in *KBo*. IV 10 the contrast is with the situation under Muwatalli, introduced by *annišan*, as in example 1 above. Nowhere does *kinun* mean “at that moment”. The verb in the preterite after *kinun* is either in a subordinate clause, as in example 4 above, or it leads forward to the present situation. Here we have two preterites leading forward to the announcement “The king and queen have made this treaty with you”. The three sentences form a continuous narrative, closely bound together, and all three verbs following *kinun* should be rendered in English by perfects; in no way can they be pluperfects. The natural assumption is that the king and the queen in both lines are Hattusili and Puduḫepa and that Kurunta is still on the throne.

For van den Hout, however, because in this passage “Kurunta appears in a historical narrative next to a second person singular pronoun (*-tta*), the change from *ši* to *-tta* has to be taken seriously . . . the *-tta* referring to Ulmitešub”. This is precisely why, as just remarked, scholars have always inferred that Kurunta was still on the throne: obviously a person who was dead would not be addressed in the second person (except as a ghost). For van den Hout, however, he must be dead because the treaty is with his successor and therefore the reference to Kurunta is “a historical narrative”. On the contrary, as shown above, the use of *kinun* shows it is not historical but closely related to the present. Indeed the expression LUGAL SAL.LUGAL can only refer to the reigning pair; it could not possibly be used in a historical narrative. Mursili, Hattusili, and Tudhaliya always refer to their predecessors either by name or as “my father” (or grandfather). To take the king and queen of the first sentence as different individuals of different generations from those in the third (even if the queen might have been the same) is in itself unacceptable on account of the *kinun*. I contend that this treaty can only have been made by Hattusili and Puduḫepa with Kurunta. The lapse into the second person is stylistically a mistake, but perhaps an understandable mistake in this particular sentence if Kurunta was actually present.

This treaty, *ABOT* 57, must therefore be removed from its position as “Tudhaliya-Ulmitēšub, first treaty” in the table of treaties *JCS* 41 114 and inserted before the Bronze Tablet as “Hattusili-Kurunta, third treaty”. Moreover its nature is such that it could not possibly have been copied a generation later for Tudhaliya and presented as his own enactment.

### 1.3. The “further donation”

*KBo* IV 10 rev. 21–22 states: “What I, my Majesty, have given to Ulmitēšub, king of the land of Tarhuntassa, the boundaries that I have set for him and what I afterwards (*EGIR-anda*) gave him, I have inscribed on an iron tablet.” As already mentioned, this tablet is probably the first draft for the “iron tablet”. The definition of boundaries is there. But where is the further donation?

Surely this should have been included? There is indeed a record of the donation of Sarmana and transhumance rights which appears to have been made after the boundaries had been defined; we shall return to this. But we now know from the Bronze Tablet that this was a concession made by Hattusili.<sup>16</sup> Tudhaliya could have claimed to be giving these rights to the new king with the rest of his territory, but he would not have stated that he had granted them “afterwards”.

#### 1.4. *The Queen*

There is also the question of the queen. We have seen that in obv. 41'–42' she is unquestionably Puduḫepa with her husband Hattusili. She is included again in the loyalty oath with the king, rev. 5, 8, 9, where she is the reigning queen—according to van den Hout, with king Tudhaliya, possibly still Puduḫepa. But the inclusion of the queen in a loyalty oath is not a regular practice, indeed it is rather exceptional. When Korošec wrote in 1931 he knew of only two examples: this treaty and Hattusili's Bentešina treaty, the latter of course again Puduḫepa.<sup>17</sup> Another is Suppiluliuma-Telipinu, *KUB* XIX 25, a family affair, where the queen is Ḫenti; and the instructions *KUB* XXXI 42, where she is another active queen, Ašmunikal. No queen appears either in the Bronze Tablet or in the other treaty of Tudhaliya, with Šaušgamuwa. The prominent part played by Puduḫepa in the Šaḫurunuwa land deed, *CTH* 225, may have had special reasons. Now that we have rejected the interpretation of the LUGAL of obv. 42' as Tudhaliya, the same interpretation in the loyalty oath loses all plausibility.

#### 2. THE ASCRIPTION TO HATTUSILI

My reasons for ascribing the text to Hattusili in *AnSt.* 33 were stated in fn. 7. Section 7 of the treaty (obv. 40'–42', the levy regulations) had always before been accepted as a text of Hattusili in favour of Kurunta.<sup>18</sup> This section is explicitly added by means of a transitional passage (§ 6) to an earlier treaty (now established as Hattusili's second treaty, see above). Laroche had suggested that the composite document so formed had then been incorporated later into a treaty with Kurunta's successor, Ulmi-Tešub, the name being changed where necessary and “a peroration” added in the latter's name. In fn. 10 I claimed that if so, this too must have been done by Hattusili in view of the reference in § 15 to “the boundaries that I have set for him and what I afterwards gave him”. I did not elaborate this point, but it seemed to me obvious that this referred back to the gift of territory as defined by the boundaries in §§ 3–4 and the further gift of Sarmana and the grazing grounds set out in § 5—both parts of the “earlier treaty” into which §§ 6–7 are said to have been inserted. In fact, as mentioned above, it is now known from the Bronze Tablet that this concession of the grazing grounds had indeed been made by Hattusili.

I further suggested that instead of assuming that a treaty with Kurunta had somehow been adapted for his successor, it would be simpler to adopt the proposal made by Güterbock in 1961 and assume that Ulmi-Tešub was the same person as Kurunta under another name. The whole document could then be

<sup>16</sup> 86/299 II 8–13. See van den Hout, *ibid.* 109.

<sup>17</sup> V. Korošec, *Hethitische Staatsverträge* (1931), 67.

<sup>18</sup> *Op.cit.* (n. 17), 100; E. Laroche, *RHA* VIII/48 (1947/8), 47; E. I. Gordon, *JCS* 21 (1967), 71 nn. 4, 6; E. von Schuler, *Anadolu Araştırmaları* II (Bossert-Gedenkschrift), 456; F. Imparati, *RHA* XXXII (1974), 158. J. Lorenz considered it to be a text of Hattusili but in favour of Ulmi-Tešub, Kurunta's successor (see above).

simply Hattusili's fourth treaty (the levy regulations being his third). I did not claim, however, that this was necessarily the right solution; in case there might be unforeseen difficulties, I wished to leave open the possibility that, as supposed by Gordon,<sup>19</sup> Kurunta had after all died young and been succeeded by Ulmi-Tešub during the lifetime of Hattusili.

I wrote, however,—as did Lorenz—before the discovery of the Bronze Tablet in 1986, with its perfectly preserved treaty between Tudhaliya and Kurunta. It is now certain that Kurunta outlived Hattusili and Hattusili could not therefore have made a treaty with his successor. If *KBo* IV 10 (*CTH* 106) is indeed a text of Hattusili, the “double names” hypothesis is the only possible solution and must be seriously tested.

### 2.1. *Ulmi-Tešub* = *Kurunta*?

The fullest statement of the double-names hypothesis is that by Laroche in *Les noms des Hittites* (1966), 358–62, to which should be added J. Börker-Klähn, *ZA* 67, 67–70 and the various suggestions about Tašmišarri.<sup>20</sup> Bearers of such names are the kings Muwatalli (= X-Tešub), Mursili III (= Urhi-Tešub), Tudhaliya IV (= X-šarruma), and perhaps Tudhaliya III (= Tašmišarri); and the prince Piyassili (= Šarri-kušuh, king of Carchemish). On Laroche's view, the Hittite kings would have chosen a throne name borne by one of their ancestors; Šarri-kušuh would have changed his Hittite name to a Hurrian one to suit the Hurrian population of his new kingdom. He could not see why a prince named Kurunta should have changed his name to Ulmi-Tešub on becoming king of Tarhuntassa, but that is not the proposal. What is suggested is that a prince named Ulmi-Tešub adopted the name of Kurunta. He was the son of Muwatalli, whose other known son also bore a Hurrian name, Urhi-Tešub. It would be reasonable to suppose that he might adopt a Luwian name on appointment as ruler of a kingdom in a Luwian area.

According to Otten<sup>21</sup> this suggestion was refuted by Gordon in *JCS* 21, 71 f., n.6. But what Gordon was rejecting was the attribution of this treaty to Tudhaliya, against the other evidence, on account of the list of witnesses (for which see below). Kurunta, he thought, could have died young and it was therefore simpler to suppose that his successor Ulmi-Tešub was on the throne of Tarhuntassa before the death of Hattusili. But we now know that this was not the case.

At first sight indeed the Bronze Tablet appears to have raised a new difficulty. We now know a great deal more about the early life of Kurunta. If he had been born Ulmi-Tešub and changed his name, here above all we should have expected to hear of it. Kurunta had been entrusted in his youth by his father, Muwatalli, to Hattusili for upbringing. He had remained faithful to Hattusili in the *coup d'état* and Hattusili had rewarded him with the kingdom of Tarhuntassa. If his name during these early years was Ulmi-Tešub, why is this suppressed in the Bronze Tablet? The answer surely is that the narrative begins with the *coup d'état*. The fact that Muwatalli had entrusted his son to Hattusili for raising is stated, as it were, in a flash-back, in a sentence beginning with

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.* (n. 4).

<sup>20</sup> Hurrian name of Suppiluliuma I, Güterbock, *JCS* X 122; of Arnuwanda I, Bin-Nun, *5THeth.* 263; Kammenhuber, *7THeth.* 162; of Mursili II, Laroche, *OLZ* 64, 147; of Tudhaliya III, Gurney, *Fs. Meriggi*, I (1979), 219 ff.; Haas, *ChS* I (1984), 7 ff., *AOF* XII, 269 ff.

<sup>21</sup> *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy*, 32 n. 5.



*annišan*, and there was no need there to give him a name since he had already been introduced as Kurunta.

That his name was already Kurunta before he became king is also suggested by the seal impressions *SBo* II 5–7 reading “Kurunta prince”. But Šaušgamuwa, king of Amurru, used seals with the title “prince”, and this could well be a similar case. *SBo*. II 5 is impressed on the tablet *CTH* 96 where Kurunta is already king and this need not be his old seal. Both men were royal princes of Hatti and may have preferred this title to the local one of king.<sup>22</sup> But Hattusili had known Kurunta as a child. It would have been natural if he had at first continued to use the familiar name, even when appointing him to the kingdom of Tarhuntassa. After all, for his nephew, Urhi-Tešub, he seems *never* to have adopted the royal name Mursili (even if this was a form of *damnatio memoriae*, as has been suggested). Only when he visited Kurunta on his home ground would he have found it necessary to make the change when drawing up the levy regulations. In this way the extraordinary juxtaposition of two names for the same man in a single document can perhaps be explained.

Van den Hout and Lorenz are certainly right in arguing that an earlier treaty with Ulmi-Tešub must have ended with the curse formula, § 11, like the treaties with Duppi-Tešub, Manapa-Tarhunda and Alaksandu. This would have been Hattusili’s first treaty (in the second person), including §§ 1–3, a description of the boundaries and the list of divine witnesses. §§ 12–16 would have been added in the second treaty (which was in the third person), together with the new clauses about summer grazing and the changes in the boundaries.<sup>23</sup> The third treaty was the levy regulation; the fourth the combination of the two—the present document, with its editorial note § 6. The queen is Puduḫepa; and there is no need to posit any lost documents other than the first and second treaties and the iron tablet. One may indeed ask: was the “iron tablet” ever inscribed? This question is prompted by the recent article by J. Freu (*LAMA* XI, 1990) in which he accepts my chronology and refers (pp. 49–50) to *CTH* 106 and the Bronze Tablet as the first redaction and the last avatar of a single text. Did Hattusili die before the “iron tablet” could be inscribed and the assembly of officials convened to witness it? Tudhaliya might well have decided that his own delicate relationship with Kurunta called for an entirely new treaty for which his father’s draft was no longer suitable.

## 2.2. *Ulmi-Tešub’s marital status.*

At the time of his treaty with Tudhaliya, Kurunta was clearly still unmarried. According to the Bronze Tablet II 84 ff., Puduḫepa had intended to provide a wife for him and so ensure the succession to his throne, but Tudhaliya here guarantees him a completely free choice of successor, regardless of whether he should or should not accept that wife.

I am grateful to Dr. Van den Hout for letting me see a copy of a recent addendum to his forthcoming dissertation in which he claims that Ulmi-Tešub cannot have been the same person as Kurunta since he was already married, with children.

The succession clause (§ 2) in *KBo* IV 10 on which he bases this conclusion is badly damaged, all except the beginnings and ends of the lines being lost. Consequently it has not hitherto been observed that the lines can be closely

<sup>22</sup>See I. Singer, Appendix III *apud* S. Izre’el, *Amurru Akkadian: a linguistic study* (Harvard Semitic Studies 41, 1991), 185.

<sup>23</sup>Van den Hout thinks that only §§ 13–14 were added (*JCS* 41, 108).

paralleled from the treaty with Duppi-Tešub, another unmarried man and the only one among the known treaty-partners of the Hittites. The passage (Dupp. D I 24 ff., Friedrich *Vert.* p.12) reads:

*ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-na DAM-KA ta-at-ti nu-za ma-a-an DUMU.NITA i-ia-ši nu kat-ta I-NA KUR* <sup>uru</sup>*A-mur-ri a-pa-a-aš LUGAL-uš e-eš-du*

“And when you take your wife, and if you beget an heir, in future he shall become king in Amurru.”

*Mutatis mutandis*, KBo IV 10 obv. 4'–5' can be restored as follows:

[DAM-K]A-ma ku-i[n ta-at-ti na-aš-ma-at-ta <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI ku-in MUNUS-an DAM-an-ni pi-iḫ]-ḫi nu a-pi-el DUMU-an da-a na-an šal-la-i p[i?-di? ti-it-ta-nu-ut(?)]

“Your [wife] that [you will take or whom I, my Majesty, will give] [you], her son take and [install] him on the high [place(?)].”<sup>24</sup>

This could well be a premonition of the impending choice of a wife by Puduḫepa alluded to in the Bronze Tablet. The words used are very similar.<sup>25</sup>

The parallel with Duppi-Tešub extends even to the curse formula (Dupp. §§ 20–21) where his future wife is included for cursing and for blessing along with his children, his grandchildren, his household, his city and his country. Thus the impression created by the [DAM-K]A of l. 4 and §§ 10–11, that Ulmi-Tešub was married with children, is illusory.

### 3. THE HUMAN WITNESSES

The inclusion of a list of witnesses in a treaty no longer requires a special explanation, since we now have a similar list in the Bronze Tablet. The practice may have been initiated by Muwatalli, to whose reign the witnesses of the Aleppo treaty belong. The Bronze Tablet has also provided a possible explanation for the appearance of Nerikkaili as the official heir to the throne (*tuhkanti*) both in this treaty and in the Šaḫurunuwa document (CTH 225), as pointed out by Klengel.<sup>26</sup> Nerikkaili must have been the brother who, according to 86/299 II 35–45, was first appointed *tuhkanti* by Hattusili but afterwards demoted in favour of Tudhaliya. If Tudhaliya on his accession was unmarried, as seems likely, it would be natural for him to reappoint his brother as *tuhkanti*; this was in fact my own suggestion.<sup>27</sup> Thus the two main obstacles to the ascription of

<sup>24</sup>I have profited from van den Hout's remarks on the restoration of l. 5 (the traces before the break are difficult to understand). That suggested for l. 4 is my own.

<sup>25</sup>The relative DAM-KA ku-in would here be of the type called “determinate” by W. H. Held, “The Hittite Relative Sentence” (*Language* 33 [1957]), doubtless because the plan for him to take a particular wife was already formed. Similarly in Dupp. the conjunction is *mahḫan* “when” as against *mān* introducing the hypothetical event of his begetting a son. The construction would be parallel to Held's example 5/6 (KUB VI 46 iv 31 ff.).

<sup>26</sup>AOF XVIII, 230-1. See also Beal, p. 32 n. 10 below.

<sup>27</sup>AnSt. XXXIII, 99. If this is correct, the Kurunta of the Tawagalawa letter I 73 cannot be the TARTĒNU who was sent to conduct Piyamaradu to the king, as suggested by P. Houwink ten Cate in JEOL 28, 38 n. 1, and by H. G. Güterbock in Or. 59, 162, unless TARTĒNU after all is different from *tuhkanti*. The argument for this identification given in AS XXXIII 97 ff. has not convinced everybody (e.g. Houwink ten Cate, loc. cit.). But is it conceivable that Kurunta could ever have held the position of TARTĒNU “second-in-command” over the heads of Nerikkaili and Tudhaliya? If not, the reference to him in Taw. I 73 must be to a past event, as proposed by Singer and Heinhold-Krahmer, and the envoy would have been Nerikkaili or Tudhaliya. But it is not my purpose here to attempt to solve the problems of the letter.

this treaty to Hattusili, as I saw them in 1983, are eliminated.

The Ulmi-Tešub treaty, the Kurunta treaty, and the Šaḫurunuwa document contain the names of over 40 witnesses, including five kings, many of them appearing in more than one list, though not always in the same office. Laroche used these lists to establish that the Ulmi-Tešub treaty and the Šaḫurunuwa document were roughly contemporary, so that the treaty must be either at the end of Hattusili's reign or early in that of Tudhaliya, and the discovery of the third list certainly confirms this conclusion. It should be possible to go further and to use the differences between the lists to establish the relative chronological order of the two Tarhuntassa treaties.

Of the kings, unfortunately, Ini-Tešub king of Carchemish occurs in all three documents, and the other two historical kings—Bentešina and Masturi—only in one, the Bronze Tablet. The name of the king of Tarhuntassa in the Šaḫurunuwa document, which might have provided crucial evidence, is unfortunately broken off.

Four of the officials—Walwaziti (UR.MAḤ.LÚ) chief scribe, Šaḫurunuwa, chief scribe on wood, Kammaliya, chief cook, and Tuttu, chief storeman,<sup>28</sup>—again hold the same office in all three texts, but Šaḫurunuwa in his property-deed also holds (apparently concurrently) the offices of GAL UKU.UŠ<sup>29</sup> and GAL NA.GAD. Since in the same document LUGAL-<sup>d</sup>LAMMA and Mizramuwa hold the offices of GAL UKU.UŠ GÜB and GAL NA.GAD GÜB respectively, we may presume that Šaḫurunuwa's appointments were GAL UKU.UŠ ZAG and GAL NA.GAD ZAG (see below). For the rest, we know too little of the *cursus honorum* in Hatti to know whether, if a man is listed with different posts, one or other implies a promotion. We cannot even be sure that if a man is listed simply as DUMU.LUGAL “prince” he held no official post. This would mean that Huzziya and Tattamaru, who are GAL MEŠEDI and GAL UKU.UŠ GÜB respectively in the Bronze Tablet but only “prince” in *KBo* IV 10, had received promotion, and *KBo* IV 10 is the earlier document.<sup>30</sup> But it will be shown below that the sequence of holders of certain offices requires the Šaḫurunuwa document to be placed before the Bronze Tablet. It follows that at the time of the Bronze Tablet Nerikkaili had already been reappointed *tuhkanti*, though he is listed only as DUMU.LUGAL. He is unlikely to have been demoted a second time, and his position at the head of the list is presumably in itself sufficient to show his status.

But these lists can also be used in a different way. It is notoriously difficult to be sure whether men of the same name are or are not the same person, but where texts of approximately the same period name such men as holding the same office, this is reasonably certain. Where an office changed hands or a man changed his appointment, it is likely that the earlier holder or appointment can be established by external evidence which for the reigns of Hattusili and Tudhaliya is fairly plentiful.

The witnesses who appear as holders of the same office in texts of Hattusili's reign are as follows:

<sup>28</sup> EN É *apuzzi*: see Friedrich/Kammenhuber, *HW*<sup>2</sup> s.v.

<sup>29</sup> Such military posts as GAL UKU.UŠ “infantry commander” ZAG and GÜB “of the right and left wing” is treated comprehensively in *The Organisation of the Hittite Military* (*THeth*, 20, 1992), by Richard Beal, to whom I am grateful for prompting this particular enquiry.

<sup>30</sup> On DUMU.LUGAL as a hereditary title rather than an appointment, see I. Singer in *Tel Aviv*, 4 (1977), 184.

A. In *KBo*. IV 10 (*CTH* 106):

Alalimi, GAL SĪLA.ŠU.DU<sub>8</sub>.A “chief cup-bearer” in *KBo* IV 10, appears as such in the letter of Puduḫepa, *KUB* XXI 38 obv. 32, and in the court of inquiry *KUB* XIII 34+ iv 3, probably also from the reign of Hattusili (doubtless the same man without title in the similar text XIII 35)<sup>31</sup>. It is also probably he that is involved in a conspiracy during the reign of Tudhaliya with Ḫešni, Halpaziti, Lupakki, Naninzi, Taskuili and a king of Išuwa (*KUB* XXXI 68)<sup>32</sup> and with the same group of officials and others in a whole range of administrative texts of the same period.<sup>33</sup> There is no other evidence for him in the capacity of GAL UGULA LI-IM<sup>meš</sup>, the appointment that he holds in the Bronze Tablet. This may indeed be a different individual.

Halpaziti, GAL UKU.UŠ ZAG “infantry-commander of the right wing” in *KBo* IV 10, is replaced in this office in the Šaḫurunuwa document by Šaḫurunuwa himself (see above) and in the Bronze Tablet by Saliqqa. In *KUB* XXXI 32, probably a text of Hattusili,<sup>34</sup> he leads an army with Tattamaru. The Halwaziti who inscribed the Bronze Tablet is surely a different man. Saliqqa appears only in a declaration (in court?) (*KUB* XXIII 91) by Tuttu, here the chief storeman (see above), and in an inventory text (*KUB* XL 95), with Taki-Šarruma, another witness in 86/299.

LUGAL dLAMMA, GAL UKU.UŠ GÜB “infantry-commander of the left wing”, is replaced in the Bronze Tablet by Tattamaru. In *KUB* XLVIII 119, probably also a text of Hattusili,<sup>35</sup> he leads an army with Šaḫurunuwa.

B. In 86/299 (the Bronze Tablet):

Tattamaru, GAL UKU.UŠ GÜB in 86/299, must be the same man as the Tattamaru who appears with Halpaziti leading an army in *KUB* XXXI 32 and might be expected to be the “infantry-commander of the left”, as he is in 86/299; but his title is lost in a lacuna, and if this is a text of Hattusili, that post was held by LUGAL-dLAMMA (see below). Presumably he held only a junior appointment at this time, and this is confirmed by his appearance as a mere DUMU.LUGAL “prince” in *KBo*. IV 10. According to *KUB* XXIII 85 he was married to a niece of Puduḫepa. The Tattamaru of XXVI 43 is the son of Šaḫurunuwa and may or may not be the same individual.

Naninzi (ŠEŠ-zi), GAL MUBARRI “chief butcher(?)”<sup>36</sup> in 86/299, appears with this title only in an undated text from Ugarit, RS.17.109, 23 (*Ugaritica* V, 770). A Naninzi is involved (without title) in the conspiracy already mentioned, together with Alalimi, Ḫešni, *et al.*, some time during the reign of Tudhaliya, and in the court of inquiry *KUB* XIII 35 III 20; also one of the sons of Mitannamuwa, Hattusili’s healer and adviser, in *KBo* IV 12 rev. 7 is so named. Whether any of these is the same person is uncertain. Of Mahhuzzi, who holds

<sup>31</sup> On the dating of these courts of inquiry to the end of the reign of Hattusili, see R. Werner, *4StBoT* (1967), 79, and A. Kempinsky and S. Košak, *Tel Aviv* 4 (1977), 91.

<sup>32</sup> See R. Stefanini, *Athenaeum* 40 (1962), 22 ff.; A. Archi, *SMEA* XIV (1971), 214–15 n. 84.

<sup>33</sup> S. Košak, *10THeth*, 88 ff. On the dating of the administrative texts to the same period see Kempinsky and Košak, *loc. cit.*

<sup>34</sup> For XXXI 32 a reference to [Ishta]r(?) of Samuha in rev. 5 suggests this dating.

<sup>35</sup> XLVIII 119 is a typical vow of the queen for the health of his Majesty, with references to Hakmis, Nerik and the *daḫanga*. This royal pair can hardly be anyone but Hattusili and Puduḫepa.

<sup>36</sup> H. M. Kummel, *UF* I (1969), 161.

this office in the Ulmi-Tešub treaty, nothing is known.

Ura-Tarhunta (GAL-<sup>d</sup>U), GAL *KARTAPPI* in 86/299, could well be the same man as the Ura-Tarhunta, son of Ukkura, of *KUB* XIII 35, but the parallel shows him not in the high rank of “chief charioteer” (GAL *KARTAPPI*) but as a junior storeman in charge of the animals under his father, doubtless an episode from his early years. However, there is no GAL *KARTAPPI* in *KBo* IV 10.

C. In *CTH* 225 (the Šaḥurunuwa document):

Šaḥurunuwa, one of whose offices in his property-deed is GAL UKU.UŠ (ZAG) (see above) appears in *KUB* XLVIII 199, as already mentioned, leading an army with LUGAL <sup>d</sup>LAMMA, and in XLIX 103, an oracle text, with Hursaniya in connexion with a campaign in the northern area. Since Haggapis is mentioned (obv. 2'), this could also be a text of Hattusili.

The position regarding the military officers is as follows:

	GAL UKU.UŠ.ZAG	GAL UKU.UŠ.GÜB	Other
<i>KBo</i> IV 10	Halpaziti	LUGAL- <sup>d</sup> LAMMA	Tattamaru
XXXI 32	Halpaziti		Tattamaru
XLVIII 119	Šaḥurunuwa	LUGAL- <sup>d</sup> LAMMA	
	(Accession of Tudhaliya IV)		
XXVI 43	Šaḥurunuwa	LUGAL- <sup>d</sup> LAMMA	Tattamaru
86/299	Saliqqa	Tattamaru	

These two texts—the Šaḥurunuwa document and the Bronze Tablet—must therefore be later than the Ulmi-Tešub treaty, if we accept that the officials of *KBo* IV 10 had been appointed by Hattusili.

If Tattamaru is to be accommodated as GAL UKU.UŠ GÜB in XXXI 32, the texts must be arranged in the following order:

(Accession of Tudhaliya IV)			
86/299	Saliqqa	Tattamaru	
XXXI 32	Halpaziti	Tattamaru	
<i>KBo</i> IV 10	Halpaziti	LUGAL- <sup>d</sup> LAMMA	Tattamaru
XXVI 43	Šaḥurunuwa	LUGAL- <sup>d</sup> LAMMA	Tattamaru
XLVIII 119	Šaḥurunuwa	LUGAL- <sup>d</sup> LAMMA	

Thus it is impossible to place the Ulmi-Tešub treaty after the Bronze Tablet without attributing *KUB* XLVIII 119 to Tudhaliya. The internal evidence of this fragment, I think, rules this out. It would also be strange to find Tattamaru replaced in his office by LUGAL-<sup>d</sup>LAMMA yet still acting as a witness in the Ulmi-Tešub treaty in his capacity as prince.

This result is consistent with the fact that the princes Huzziya, Hannutti, and Tašmi-Šarruma, the *urianni*-man AMAR-MUŠEN, and Ari-Šarruma king of Išuwa, all from *KBo* IV 10, are all attested in texts of Hattusili,<sup>37</sup> Ari-Šarruma was probably married to his daughter Giluš-Ḫepa,<sup>38</sup> and the others may well have been his sons. Naninzi, Tattamaru and Ura-Tarhunta, who appear

<sup>37</sup>For Huzziya, XXVI 18 (Ottén, *Bronzetafel*, 8) and the oracle text V 20; for Hannutti, XIX 23, a text reporting the death of Hattusili (see Singer, *AnSt.* XXXIII 214); for Tašmi-Šarruma, XLVIII 123, a vow of Puduḫepa, and V 20; for AMAR-MUŠEN, similar vows and dreams, XV 5, XXXI 61, *VBoT* 71.

<sup>38</sup>See Güterbock, *JNES* 32, 140, deduced from seal no. 2 and *KUB* XV 1 and 3.

as officials in the Bronze Tablet, are not attested in the same offices during the earlier reign.

There is no alternative, unless, as suggested to me by Dr. Beal, we may suppose that Šaḥurunuwa who, as mentioned above, in *CTH* 225 is credited with holding three offices concurrently, had in fact retired from one of them, namely that of GAL UKU.UŠ (since he is entitled GAL NA.GAD elsewhere in the text several times). The following possibility then arises:

	GAL UKU.UŠ ZAG	GAL UKU.UŠ GÜB	Other
XLVIII 119	Šaḥurunuwa	LUGAL- <sup>d</sup> LAMMA	
<i>KBo</i> IV 10	Halpaziti	LUGAL- <sup>d</sup> LAMMA	Tattamaru
	(Accession of Tudhaliya IV)		
XXVI 43		LUGAL- <sup>d</sup> LAMMA	Tattamaru
XXXI 32	Halpaziti	Tattamaru	
86/299	Saliqqa	Tattamaru	

The name of Halpaziti, Šaḥurunuwa's successor in the post of GAL UKU.UŠ ZAG, may well be one of those lost in a lacuna in *CTH* 225. This arrangement still requires the Ulmi-Tešub treaty to be earlier than the Bronze Tablet.

#### 4. THE HULAYA RIVER LAND AND TARHUNTASSA

We have finally to consider the problem of the relationship of Tarhuntassa to the Land of the Hulaya River. The problem arises because, though Ulmi-Tešub and Kurunta are both described in their respective treaties as "king of the land Tarhuntassa", the territory given to them, carefully delineated by its boundaries, is "the land of the River Hulaya".

Forrer, who published the text and translated the boundary description, had no doubt: "The country had two names: Land of the Hulaya River and Land of the town <sup>d</sup>U-tassa. The former is the older, since it is used in the description of the boundaries, which is taken over from the treaty which a Hittite king—Suppiluliuma or his son Arnuwanda—made with Ulmi-Tešub."<sup>39</sup>

Götze interpreted the word <sup>uru</sup>*da-ad-da-aš-ši-iš* in *KBo* IV 10 obv. 30' as "belonging to Dattassa", comparing it to the phrase used elsewhere in the boundary-description *ANA KUR* <sup>uru</sup>*Hulaya aššan* "belonging to the Hulaya River Land", and inferring that the two territories were thereby shown to be distinct.<sup>40</sup> This argument of course is obsolete, since <sup>d</sup>*U-ta-aš-ša* is now read Tarhuntassa, not Dattassa (see above, n. 1), and the parallel line in the Bronze Tablet has quite a different reading, suggesting that our text is corrupt. It was

<sup>39</sup>*Forschungen* I (1926), 32. His view was that in composing this document Hattusili had utilised an old treaty with Ulmi-Tešub of the Hulaya River Land, this kingdom having been incorporated in the Hittite state before the composition of the prayer of Muwatalli (*CTH* 381) which lists Ussa, Parshunta and the river Hulaya, but without Tarhuntassa, as comprised within the district called Lower Land. But Ulmi-Tešub is clearly the actual contracting party here, not an earlier king (cf. Sommer, *AU* 34); it is he to whose progeny the rights of succession are guaranteed. These clauses could not have been taken over from an earlier treaty unless Kurunta had been his son, but we know that Kurunta was the son of Muwatalli. In fact there is no reason to suppose the existence of a kingdom of the Hulaya River Land before the foundation of Tarhuntassa. See below.

<sup>40</sup>*Kleinasien zur Hethiterzeit* (1924), 17 n. 3.

apparently supported, however, by obv. 33 ff., where we read: “As for the boundary of the land of Tarhuntassa, let no goatherd enter the country. And if they drive to the summer grazing from the country of the Hulaya River, let them not take the summer pasture away from him: it is given to the king of Tarhuntassa.” To Götze (*KIF* I, 109) it was self-evident that this implied a distinction between the two countries. I have never understood this; the passage makes perfect sense if the two countries are the same.<sup>41</sup> The paragraph is concerned with transhumance rights<sup>42</sup> granted to the king of Tarhuntassa outside his own boundaries, whilst at the same time (in the first sentence) the crossing of the boundary by (Hittite?) goatherds in the opposite direction is forbidden. It would make no sense to impose regulations on such movements across an internal border between one part of the kingdom and another. Yet this is what Otten has implied in his commentary on the corresponding passage (II 4-5) in the Bronze Tablet. Here, where *KBo.* IV 10 has simply “As for the boundary of the Land of Tarhuntassa”, the text adds the word KUR <sup>10</sup>*Hu-u-la-ia-aš*. Otten takes this to be a (partitive) genitive implying that the country of Tarhuntassa is part of the country of the Hulaya River and that goatherds are here forbidden to cross from there into “the special territory of Tarhuntassa” (p. 46). Güterbock (in a private communication) understands this genitive as “belonging to” in the sense that Tarhuntassa is larger than the Hulaya River land but includes all of it (i.e. the opposite of Otten). J. D. Hawkins has suggested to me that KUR <sup>10</sup>*Hu-u-la-ia-aš* is to be taken as a self-contained parenthetical sentence: KUR <sup>10</sup>*Hulaya=aš* “it is the land of the river Hulaya”, “it” being the boundary-territory (ZAG = *irḫa-*) of the country Tarhuntassa.<sup>43</sup> This would again imply a distinction between the two countries but would avoid the internal boundary since they would be treated as a unit. Goatherds are forbidden to enter the (whole) country and grazing rights are conceded outside it, as required by the sense, but as these movements would take place into and out of the frontier-territory (the Hulaya land) it is this territory that is directly concerned in both directions. This interpretation would be in accordance with I 86 where, as pointed out by Otten, the two countries are linked by *-ia* “and”. It does appear however, to conflict with the boundary-description where apparently the whole country is called “land of the river Hulaya” and Tarhuntassa is not mentioned at all. Hawkins would accept this and infers that only the “frontier-territory” (with Hatti) is defined, as in the treaty with Kupanta-<sup>4</sup>LAMMA. Considering that part of the frontier as defined in the Bronze Tablet is the Mediterranean coastline, I find this difficult to believe, and would rather suggest that KUR <sup>10</sup>*Hu-u-la-ia-aš* has been inserted by the scribe as a gloss on KUR <sup>uru</sup>*dU-tašša* precisely because—in Forrer’s words—“the country has two names”.<sup>44</sup> This would also be the reason for the writing of both names together in I 86, though the addition of the enclitic *-ia* could then only be regarded as an oversight. “Land of the Hulaya River” had originally been a mere geographical expression

<sup>41</sup>In *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* pp. 66-7 we took over this idea, but with some reserve. Garstang’s interpretation in *JNES* 3 18, however, is based on a mistranslation: “from the Hulaya River Land” belongs to the next sentence.

<sup>42</sup>*CHD* I 40.

<sup>43</sup>See his forthcoming edition of the “Südburg” inscription, *The Hieroglyphic Inscription of Chamber 2 of the Sacred Pool Complex* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Beiheft 3), section on Geography. For a similar use of ZAG cf. Kup. §§ 9, 10.

<sup>44</sup>The use of a genitive after KUR is very unusual (see Götze, *Hatt.* 77 f.), but there is a parallel in *KBo.* V 8 I 40: <sup>10</sup>KUR KUR <sup>10</sup>*Ku-um-mi-iš-ma-ḫa-aš* (another country named after a river).

for “the basin” of this river, where there had been a supply depot from the time of Telipinu. Tarhuntassa must have been within it, but precise definition of its boundaries was not required till the appanage kingdom was created for Kurunta and it became a political entity. This was named the kingdom of Tarhuntassa; but in a geographical context the old name continued in use.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>I have thus changed my mind again since writing the postscript to *Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in honour of Sedat Alp* (Ankara, 1992), p. 221.



The Hittite Names of Kerkenes Dağ and Kuşaklı Höyük

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## THE HITTITE NAMES OF KERKENES DAĞ AND KUŞAKLI HÖYÜK

By O. R. GURNEY

A major Hittite city-mound in the vicinity of the Kerkenes Dağ having been identified by Dr. Summers (see previous article), the question naturally arises whether their ancient Hittite names can be determined. Unfortunately this central area of the Hittite kingdom was completely distorted in *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* (1959) by the misplacing of Pala-Tumanna and Nerik and the places, such as Mt. Hāharwa, associated with them. Allusions to “the sea” locate these places firmly, with Zalpa, at the opposite end of the zone occupied by the Kaška folk, in the far north by the mouth of the Kızıl Irmak, and the maps in that book must be disregarded.<sup>1</sup>

Kuşaklı Höyük stands in the basin of the Kanak Su which rises just above the site of Alişar. This stream is a tributary of the Delice Su which flows north-westward into the Kızıl Irmak and which Forlanini has suggested might be the Hittite “Red River”, said to have “mingled its waters with the Maraššantiya”,<sup>2</sup> but the Kanak Su and its tributaries have not yet been certainly identified in the Hittite texts.

At the eastern end of the Kaška zone, Karaḥna and Marišta were occupied during the reign of Hattusilis III by the men of Takkašta and Pišhuruš, who crossed the Maraššantiya (Kızıl Irmak) and attacked Kaneš (Kültepe near Kayseri). Karaḥna and Marišta are now attested in the tablets from Maşat, the recently excavated site, 20 km. south of Zile, 116 km. from Boğazköy, now securely identified with the Hittite frontier fortress of Tapikka.<sup>3</sup> To the west of Maşat the river Çekerek flows northward to join the Yeşil Irmak, and Professor Alp has plausibly identified it with the Hittite river Zuliya, which is the scene of a battle vividly described in a text from Boğazköy, *CTH* 83.<sup>4</sup>

The many lists of Hittite cult centres, such as the Prayer of Muwatalli, cannot be used for geographical purposes, since their principle of arrangement is never clear. Attempts to locate these cities have concentrated on the descriptions of the spring and autumn festivals, AN.TAḤ.ŠUM and *nuntariyaššaš*, in which the king's progress from city to city is detailed day by day.<sup>5</sup> Here we can at least be sure that two consecutive cities were no more than a day's journey—about 35–40 km.—apart. In both festivals the main ceremony was celebrated at the holy city of Arinna. That this place was only a short day's journey from Hattuša is clear from the text for the tenth day of the spring festival, when the king returned from Arinna to Hattuša in time for a ceremony in the *ḫalentu* house.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See Houwink ten Cate, *Florilegium Anatolicum*, 160–1; J. G. Macqueen, *AS* XXX 179 ff.; and my article “Hittite Geography, 30 years on” in *Festschrift für Sedat Alp* (1992), 213 ff.

<sup>2</sup>*SMEA* XVIII, 205; accepted by S. Alp, *Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat Höyük*, 41. The only reference to this river in a military context is as the assembly point for a campaign against Takkašta (*KBo.* II 5 ii 2). This would then have been to the north, near its confluence with the Kızıl Irmak.

<sup>3</sup>Sedat Alp, op. cit. 17 f., 28, 42 f.

<sup>4</sup>Sedat Alp, *Belleten* XLI 637 ff. with local map p. 647; op. cit. 32 ff.

<sup>5</sup>AN.TAḤ.ŠUM: Güterbock, *JNES* 19, 80 ff., *NHF* 63–66; Houwink ten Cate, *Kaniššuwār*, 95 ff. *Nuntariyaššaš*: *Geography*, 10 (“Festival List”); Košak, *Linguistica* XVI (1976), 55–64; H. ten Cate, *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae* (Fs. H. Otten), 167 ff.; studied by Goetze, *RHA* XV/61 (1957), 93 ff.

<sup>6</sup>Güterbock, *JNES* 20, 89 f., *NHF* 64; *RGTC* VI, 34.

Much has been written recently about the location of Arinna,<sup>7</sup> but this does not concern us here, since the identification with Terzili Hamam (*Geography* p. 20) in the Kanak Su valley takes us much too far from the capital. The visits to Taštarišša and Kaštama were wrongly inserted into the itinerary of the autumn festival in our book. The text becomes fragmentary here, but there is enough to show that the king remained in Hattuša for several days performing rituals in the temples. Then going “down” by the “Zippalanda Gate”, he went first to Harranašša and on from there to Zippalanda, where he spent the thirteenth day.<sup>8</sup> From here in this version of the ritual he returned by way of Katapa, Taḥurpa and Tippuwa to Hattuša and the rest of the text is largely missing. Other versions supply details of the “Festival of the Nerik Road” which apparently followed. In the parallel but more elaborate spring ritual, however, this journey is more fully described and continues further. On the 32nd day the king prepares to leave Hattuša for Mount Puškurunuwa, sets out with a vehicle carrying an image of the mountain (“they load up Mt. Puškurunuwa”), and spends the first night in Haitta. The next day the image is taken up the mountain, where the king performs a ritual, then he descends for the night to Harranašša. On the 36th day he proceeds to Zippalanda and on the 37th day to Ankuwa, where the description of the festival comes to an end. With Ankuwa we are certainly in the Kanak Su valley. It has long been thought to be the ancient name of Ališar, the site excavated by von der Osten, and though the identification has been disputed, it has recently been defended, and in any case there is general agreement that Ankuwa must have been somewhere nearby.<sup>9</sup> It was reached in three days from Hattuša with night stops at Imralla and Ḫupikašša, which corresponds well with a distance of about 100 km.<sup>10</sup> From Zippalanda to Ankuwa the sacred “fleece” (<sup>kuš</sup>*kuršaš*) might travel by a “road to the south”, here a ceremony was performed, and the fleece went back to Zippalanda, all described in the space of eight lines.<sup>11</sup>

A direct line from Boğazköy to Ališar would pass through Kuşaklı Höyük

<sup>7</sup>Several earlier suggestions are recorded in *RGTC* VI. Forlanini in *SMEA* XXII 74 n. 21 supports Cornelius' identification with Nefezköy/Tavium 16 km south of Boğazköy. J. Börker-Klähn in *Fs Bittel* (1983) revived Forrer's proposal of 1929, the mound by the Delice Su near Yerköy opposite the warm springs of Ucuz Hamam and now called Bulamaşlı Höyük. This site, though otherwise suitable, is 60 km. from the capital, surely too far for the requirements of the text. Most recently Sedat Erkut in *Fs Alp*, 1992, 159 ff., has claimed Alaca Hüyük as its site, on the strength of the possibility that a certain Zuwa mentioned on the fragmentary tablet found there might be the same person as the Zuwa who is elsewhere attested as having charge of gold and silver ornaments belonging to the Sun-goddess of Arinna (for another proposal for Alaca Hüyük see below, n. 11). Cf. A. Ünal, *Belleten*, XLV/180, 1981, 451 ff., *SMEA* 24, 1984, and *AS* XLIV 216.

<sup>8</sup>The text is here restored by *KUB* LV 5 I 12 ff., version F in the treatment by H. ten Cate in *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae* (Fs. H. Otten), 167 ff. This text breaks off before the visit to Zippalanda. The parallel with the spring festival suggests that this is part of the outward journey rather than on the return via Katapa.

<sup>9</sup>Identification proposed by Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar*, 9 f., but his arguments are very weak, since the name occurs on only three tablets. It was discussed by E. Bilgiç, *Afo* XV 30 f., and rejected by A. Ünal, *SMEA* XXIV (1984), 87-107, but defended by Kempinsky and Koşak, *Tel Aviv* 9 (1982), 107 f. and more recently by R. Gorny in *AS* XLIII (1993), 163 ff., with fresh arguments. It may be hoped that Dr. Gorny's recently resumed excavations at the site will provide decisive evidence for or against. But both Ünal and Forlanini would place Ankuwa somewhere in the Kanak Su valley not far from Ališar. See also below.

<sup>10</sup>*KUB* XXV 28 i 1-10; *RGTC* VI, 20; Kempinsky-Koşak, loc. cit.

<sup>11</sup>*KBo.* XXX 155 rev. 4-11; *KUB* XX 25 + X 78. Thus Zippalanda can hardly have been at Alaca Hüyük, as recently maintained by M. Popko (*Zippalanda*, Texte der Hethiter 21, 1994, 11 ff.). If there had been night stops on the way, they would surely have been mentioned, as in XXV 28.

and Kerkenes Dağ. Kuşaklı Höyük could be Ȝaitta and the mountain Puškurunuwa, with Ȝarranašša and Zippalanda lying between the mountain and Ankuwa. This is not unlike the scheme adopted by Forlanini in his article *SMEA* XXII (1980), 71–81 with map, except that he puts Ȝaitta close to the mountain in a position where there is no ancient site and identifies Alişar with Šanaḫuitta, on account of the apparent absence of an imperial Hittite level at that site.<sup>12</sup> Ȝaitta is closely associated in a bird-oracle text with the river Zuliya;<sup>13</sup> and if Ȝarranašša is the same as Ȝarrana, as suggested by Güterbock (*JNES* 20, 91), this was the point where Mursili II, coming from Tegarama, joined his army for a campaign against the Kaška.<sup>14</sup> These data suggest an easterly location for Ȝaitta and Ȝarranašša and conform well with this scheme.

On the other hand the impressive remains at Kuşaklı Höyük might suit Zippalanda better than the comparatively unimportant town of Ȝaitta, and its distance from Boğazköy seems too great for a journey of a single day with a loaded vehicle. Zippalanda could be placed at Kuşaklı Höyük, with Ȝaitta, Mt. Puškurunuwa and Ȝarranašša somewhere back along the road from Ȝattuša, at or near Yozgat, and Katapa and Taḫurpa on the road home by a different route.<sup>15</sup> In that case Kerkenes Dağ would be the ancient Mt. Daḫa, which is always closely associated with Zippalanda. In *KUB* XX 96 iii 9 ff. the king mounts his chariot and goes to Mt. Daḫa, celebrates the mountain, then proceeds to Ankuwa.<sup>16</sup> The preceding lines are lost, but the starting point could well be Zippalanda. On present evidence this is perhaps a better solution to the problem.

<sup>12</sup>Forlanini in *Hethitica* VI, 47 with n. 11 and *Atlante Storico* (1986) p. 2. For the same reason Ünal locates Kuššara at Alişar (op. cit. 105, and *RIA* VI 381).

<sup>13</sup>*KBo* XV 28, Archi, *SMEA* XVI 135, Ünal, *RHA* XXXI 53. In the same text but in broken context the river Imralla is mentioned. This could then be the name of the Eğri Öz Su, the stream by Kuşaklı Höyük, as entered on Forlanini's map, loc. cit. On this tributary of the Kanak Su cf. J. C. Anderson, *Studia Pontica* I 26.

<sup>14</sup>*KBo* IV 4 iii 26 f., Götze, *AM* 126.

<sup>15</sup>Forlanini in *Atlante Storico* (1986) p. 2 puts Katapa at "Babali", apparently his name for Kuşaklı Höyük itself (see *Studia Mediterranea P. Meriggi Dicata*, 1979, 180 n. 76), just as we did in the *Geography*. The autumn festival started at Katapa, possibly because the king had been in winter quarters there (Güterbock, *JNES* XX, 90 f.). But there was no sacred mountain at Katapa, and this now seems too far south to be the place where the "Festival of the Nerik road" was celebrated (*KUB* XXV 10 iv 1–7, cf. Güterbock, *ibid.*). Forlanini's "Çamurlu" is Cemali, a mound south of Kerkenes Dağ now flooded by the Esenli dam (information from Dr. Summers).

<sup>16</sup>On Mt. Daḫa see H. Gonnet, *RHA* XXVI/83, no. 128. It is included among the deities of Zippalanda in Muwatalli's Prayer, *KUB* VI 45/46 (*Geography*, p. 116).

The Annals of Hattusilis III

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## THE ANNALS OF HATTUSILIS III

By O. R. GURNEY

The Hittite kings were the first to record the events of their reigns in annalistic form, beginning, it seems, with the first king of the Empire, Tudhaliyas I/II.<sup>1</sup> His successors continued the practice, and annals are preserved for Arnuwandas I, Suppiluliumas I (composed by his son), and above all for Mursilis II. There is no reason to think that the following kings were any less proud of their achievements, but Muwatallis II's archives have not yet been discovered, nor has any continuous text been found for the reign of Hattusilis III. For the reigns of Tudhaliyas IV and Suppiluliumas II (nothing is known of Arnuwandas III) it seems that with the development of the "hieroglyphic" script and the Luwian language these kings adopted the practice of inscribing their "deeds" (LÚ-natar "manliness") in a new form beginning "I am . . ." on monumental inscriptions or commemorative statues.<sup>2</sup>

For Hattusilis III, though no continuous text has come to light, two small fragments have always been assumed to be pieces of that king's Annals. One of them, Bo. 3093, was introduced to the world (one side only), in transliteration and translation with restorations, by E. Forrer in 1926 (*Forschungen* I, 30). Copies of both sides of this and of its fellow, Bo. 6491, from the hand of A. Götze appeared in 1928 as *KUB* XXI 6 (only rev. preserved) and 6a (obv. and rev.) with a note to the effect that both pieces belong together. We may call these three fragments of text **A** (the obv.) and **B-C** (the rev.). Both scholars presented the fragments without question as "Annals of Hattusilis", and Laroche entered them so, though with a question-mark, in his *Catalogue des Textes Hittites* (1971) as *CTH* 82. When arranging them on the page Götze must have thought that 6 and one side of 6a (in that order) formed parts of column II—a right-hand column, broken down the column-line—and the other side of 6a formed the reverse, i.e. col. III. But after the page had been made up he appears to have changed his mind and marked the two pieces on the left as reverse and the one on the right as obverse. He added a note stating that if this is correct (he was evidently uncertain) 6a is the "upper" piece (which is self-evident, its position in the tablet being conventionally determined by its obverse), but the note does not explain why he changed his mind (curvature of the surface?) or why the pieces, if he is right, are arranged on the page as they are. There is no suggestion that he had changed his opinion as to the relative position of 6 and 6a rev.; presumably this was determined by the diminishing thickness of 6a (6 being one-side only) towards its end.

A further fragment, Bo.4150, a left corner, was published in 1939 as *KUB* XXXI 19 from the hand of J. Sturm as "part of the same tablet (according to an old note)". This was endorsed by P. Meriggi in 1962 (*WZKM* 58, 81), by Goetze himself in *CAH* III p. 260, and now by P. Houwink ten Cate (*ZA* 82, 256), who shows that the note was by Ehelolf. We may call its two sides **D** and **E**. The hallmark of this whole text is the line *am-mu-uk* <sup>1</sup>*Ḫa-ad-du-ši-li-iš* in **D** 7 and **C** 15.

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<sup>1</sup>See H. Cançik, *Grundzüge der hethitischen und alttestamentlichen Geschichtsschreibung* (1976); H. A. Hoffner, "Histories and Historians of the Ancient Near East", *Orientalia* 49 (1980), 283–332; Gurney *The Hittites* (1990), 143–7. Edicts of earlier kings contain historical sections but this was not their main purpose.

<sup>2</sup>See J. D. Hawkins, *The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Hattusa (SÜDBURG)* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Beiheft 3, 1995), 49 and 57–9; also for YAL-BURT in *Festschrift Sedat Alp* (1992), 260.

F. Cornelius in 1973 (*Geschichte der Hethiter*<sup>2</sup> 339–40 n. 3) claimed *KUB* XXIII 10, 55 and 111 as well, and declared, without giving reasons, that the pieces were all from one tablet and were to be rearranged with the other fragments as follows:

Col. I: **E** + XXIII 10 + **C** + XXIII 111 col. I

Col. IV: **B** + **A** + XXIII 111 col. IV + XXIII 55 + **D** (end of text).

### CTH 82

Obv. Col. I

(Long lacuna)

D1. [ . . . . .

D2. *pi-eš-k[i-* . . . . .

---

D3. EGIR-az-za-ma-kán x x[ . . . . .

D4. ŠÀ KUR<sup>URU</sup> KUBABBAR-ti ta-li-ia-n[u-un<sup>3</sup> . . . . .

D5. ŠA MU 12.KAM ŠA MU.13.KAM<sup>LÚ</sup>[ . . . . .

D6. na-at ḥa-an-ti-i DUP-PA<sup>HI.A</sup>[ . . . . .

---

D7. am-mu-uk-ma<sup>1</sup> Ḥa-ad-du-šī[-li-iš . . . . .

D8. [x x x x m]u IŠ-TU x[ . . . . .

D9. [ . . . . . ]x a-ru-n[i- . . . . .

D10. [ . . . . .

Edge

Col. II

(Lacuna)

A1. [x x x x x N]A<sup>2</sup>-R[A<sup>2</sup>-RI<sup>?</sup> . . . . .

A2. [x x x -w]a<sup>2</sup>-a-aš ku-r[u-ri-ia-aḥ-ta . . .

A3. [x x x x ]x KUR<sup>URU</sup> Ḥa-wa-li-ia-aš [ . . .

A4. [KUR<sup>URU</sup> Na-t]a-aš KUR<sup>URU</sup> Par-ḥa-a KUR<sup>URU</sup> Ḥar-ḥa[š<sup>2</sup>-šu-wa-an-ta<sup>4</sup>

A5. [KUR<sup>URU</sup> x-š]i-da-wa-an-ta KUR<sup>URU</sup> U-ti-iḥ/im-[ . . . .<sup>4</sup>

A6. [KUR.KUR.MEŠ<sup>URU</sup> Lu-u]q-qa-ia ḥu-u-ma-an-ta[ . . . .

A7. [ku-ru-ri-ia-]aḥ-ḥi-ir nu-kán<sup>URU</sup> Wa-šu-wa-[at-ta-an<sup>5</sup> . . . . .

A8. [<sup>URU</sup> ḤAR-pu-u]t-ta-wa-na-an<sup>5</sup> e-ip[-pir . . . . .

A9. [x x x x x ]LUGAL.GAL Ú-UL nam-ma[ . . . . .

---

<sup>3</sup>This must refer to Tudhaliyas as GAL MEŠEDI, as pointed out by Houwink ten Cate in *ZA* 82,257, the special tablet being CTH 83, but in l. 3 it is uncertain whether the name or some other phrase should be restored. In l. 5 Houwink ten Cate suggests the restoration <sup>10</sup>[la-aḥ-ḥi-ia-la-an]. It seems unlikely that Hattusilis would have left the country or the army in charge of a boy (cf. *KUB* XIX 8 iii 27).

<sup>4</sup>The names *Nataš* and *Ḥarḥaššuwanta* are restored from the bronze tablet: the broken sign in

But something is obviously wrong here. XXIII 111 has the name of Piyamaradus twice and could belong, but it has only one side; to judge from his note 18 he meant XLVIII 80. XXIII 55 has nothing related and XXIII 10 has only Tudhaliyas. **B** and **C** are both from a right-hand column and cannot therefore be from col. I or IV. But obv. and rev. of XXI 6a (**A** and **C**) and XXXI 19 (**D** and **E**) could have been misjudged.

Assuming, however, that XXI 6, XXI 6a and XXXI 19 are presented correctly in the editions and are parts of a single tablet—and I see no reason against this—they should be arranged as follows (possible restorations included):

### Translation

(Long lacuna)

D1. [ . . . . . ]

D2. give [ . . . . . ]

---

D3. But afterwards [ . . . . . ]

D4. [I] left behind in Hatti [ . . . . . ]

D5. [a warrior(?)] of 12 or 13 years<sup>3</sup> . . . . .

D6. and a special tablet [ . . . . . ]

---

D7. But I, Hattusi[li]s . . . . .

D8. me[ . . . . . ] from [ . . . . . ]

D9. [ . . . . . ] the sea [ . . . . . ]

D10. [ . . . . . ]

### Edge

Col. II

(Lacuna)

A1. [ . . . . . ] auxiliaries(?)[ . . . . . ]

A2. [and . . .]-wās mad[e war . . . ]

A3. [ . . . . . ] Hawaliya-land[ . . . . . ]

A4. [Nata]s(?) -land, Parha-land, Ha/urha[ssuwanta(?) -land]<sup>4</sup>

A5. [ . . .-s]idawanta-[land], Utih/m[ . . .]-land,<sup>4</sup>

A6. and all the Lukka-[lands . . . . . ]

A7. [made w]ar and Wasuwa[tta(?)]<sup>5</sup> . . . . .

A8. [(and) Ha/urpu]ttawana<sup>5</sup> [they] took.

A9. [ . . . . . ] the great King did not again [

---

the latter is here not *ha* but could be *TAR/haš*. Both are in the section where the reference point is Hawaliya. The name *U-ti-ih/im-*, if read with *im*, yields the name *Utima*, for which see below, but the sign appears to be *ih*. We do not have Forrer's reading for this.

<sup>3</sup>Restorations conjectural. Wasuwatta is attested as one of Telipinu's depot cities (see Forlanini, *VO* 7 151 f.), but one could also consider a variant for *Usau/wala* in the Hulaya boundary. For *ḪAR-pu-ta-u-na* in the land of Harziuna see *KUB* XXVI 43 obv. 43.



A10. [x x x x x ] IŠ-TU KARAŠ I-N[A(?) . . . . .

A11. [x x x x x ]x x -kán UN-an[ . . . . .

A12. [x x x x x x n]u-wa-[ . . . . .

(Lacuna)

Rev. Col. III

(Lacuna)

B1. [x x ]x x[ . . . . .

B2. [x ]x-ra-a[n<sup>?</sup> . . . . .

B3. [nu] I-NA KUR <sup>UR</sup>[<sup>U</sup> . . . . .

B4. nu-mu GIM-an <sup>1</sup>P[i- . . . . .

B5. nu-za ERÍN.MEŠ NA-RA-R[I . . . . .

B6. KUR.KUR.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>Lu-uq-qa-ma [ . . . . .

B7. nu-mu I-NA <sup>URU</sup>Wa-al-ſ[a-ri-im-ma . . .

B8. <sup>HUR.SAG</sup>Šar-wa-an-ta-aš-š[a<sup>?</sup> . . . . .

B9. nu-uš-ši UN-an u-i-ia[-nu-un . . . .

B10. nu-wa-kán A-NA <sup>D</sup>UTU <sup>UR</sup>[<sup>U</sup> A-ri-in-na . . . . .

B11. ar-ḫa da-a-aš nu-wa-aš-š[i . . . . .

B12. na-a-wi<sub>5</sub> ni-ni-in-kán-t[e-eš . . . . .

B13. nu-wa-mu-kán IGI.Ḫ[I.A-ī]t x[ . . . .

B14. A-NA <sup>D</sup>[ . . . . .

(Lacuna)

C1. [x x x x x] x [ . . . . .

C2. [x x x x L]Ú EGI[R<sup>?</sup> . . . . .

C3. nu KUR.KUR.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>Lu-uq-qa-a[ . . . . .

C4. KUR.KUR.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>Lu-uq-qa-ma x[ . . . . .

C5. KUR <sup>URU</sup>Wa-al-ma KUR <sup>URU</sup>Wa-at-t[a- . . . .<sup>6</sup> KUR . . . . .

C6. KUR <sup>URU</sup>Na-ḫi-ta KUR <sup>URU</sup>Šal-lu-ša KU[R . . . . .

C7. KUR <sup>URU</sup>Sa-an-ḫa-ta KUR <sup>URU</sup>Šu-ri-i[m-ma KUR . . . . .

C8. KUR <sup>URU</sup>Wa-al-wa-ra KUR <sup>URU</sup>Ḫa-wa-li KU[R . . . . .

C9. KUR <sup>URU</sup>I-na-aš-ša-ra <sup>GIS</sup>TUKUL-iš-ši pa-r[a-a tar-na-an-ta-at<sup>7</sup>

C10. KUR <sup>URU</sup>Ku-wa-la<sup>?</sup>-pa-aš-ša<sup>8</sup> a-ar-aš-ki-ī[t nu ki-e KUR.KUR.MEŠ]

C11. ḫu-u-ma-an-ta ḫar-ga-nu-ut na-at-kán [ . . . . .

C12. še-ir-ši KUR <sup>URU</sup>Za-al-la-ra-aš ZAG-aš e-e[š-ta ki-e-iz-ma-aš-ši]<sup>9</sup>

C13. KUR ŠAP-LI-TI ZAG-aš e-eš-ta [ki-e-iz-ma-aš-ši]<sup>9</sup>

C14. KUR <sup>UR</sup>Ḫar-zi-ú-na-aš ZAG-aš e[-eš-ta . . . . .

<sup>6</sup>Wattarwa (once *Wa-at-ta-ru-wa*) was restored by Cornelius and was an AGRIG town in the KILAM festival (Singer, *AnSt* XXXIV 115, 122), but it is associated with Masa and the River Hulana and is usually written with *-tar-*. Waltanna is a place opposite Walma in *KBo* IV 10 (though not in the bronze tablet); Wartanna is a district of Lusna (= Lystra) in *CTH* 225. Here Watta[nna] is confidently restored as a third variant by Freu (*Hethitica* VIII, 130), assuming assimilation, though I know of no parallel (Pasuhalta/Parsuhalda is not the same place as

A10. [ . . . . ] from the camp in[to

A11. [ . . . . ] . . a man . . [

A12. [ . . . . ] and [

(Lacuna)

Rev. Col. III

(Lacuna)

B1-2 . . . . .

---

B3. And in the land of[ . . . . .

B4. And when to me Pi[ . . . . .

B5. And auxiliary troops [ . . . . .

B6. But the Lukka Lands [ . . . . .

B7. And to me in Wall[arimma . . .

B8. Mount Sarwantass[a . . . . .

B9. And [I] sent him a man [ . . *saying* . . . .

B10. "and from the Sun God[dess] of [Arinna . . . . .

B11. "he took away and to him [ . . . . the troops

B12. "[are] not yet mobilized [ . . . . .

B13. "and to me . . . [ . . . . .

B14. "to the [Sun(?) . . . . .

(Lacuna)

C1. . . . .

C2. . . . . an inferior(?) man . . . .

C3. The Lukka Lands . . . . .

C4. But the Lukka Lands . . . . .

---

C5. Walma-land, Watta[- . . . -land,<sup>6</sup> . . . . -land]

C6. Nahita-land, Sallusa-land, [ . . . . -land,]

C7. Sanhata-land, Suri[imma-land, . . . . -land,]

C8. Walwara-land, Hawali-land, [ . . . . ]-l[and,]

C9. Inassara-land [were *abandoned*]<sup>7</sup> to his weapon,

C10. He kept coming to Kuwalapassa-land<sup>8</sup> [ . . . . .

C11. He destroyed them all and [*plundered*] them.

C12. (And) above, Zallara-land was his boundary, [and on this side]<sup>9</sup>

C13. the Lower Land was his boundary, [and on this side]<sup>9</sup>

C14. Harziuna-land was his boundary [ . . . . .

---

Puruṣanda/Buruṣattum). Wattarusna was far away in the north-east (*KUB* XXIII 72).

<sup>7</sup>Restoration conjectural. cf, Götze, *NBr* 73.

<sup>8</sup>Götze copied *Ku-wa-ap!-pa-aš-ša*, but Forrer, who also had the tablet before him, saw a clear *la* and this is usually accepted. Forlanini however accepted the copy and identified with Kabassos in Cataonia (*VO* 7, 158).

<sup>9</sup>Restorations after Forrer, *Forschungen* I 30 and Kup. (*CTH* 68) §9.

C15. *am-mu-uk* <sup>1</sup>*Ha-a[d-du-ši-li-iš . . . . .*

C16. [*ta*]*r-aḥ-ḥu-un* x[ . . . . .

C17. [x ]x NA<sub>4</sub> x[

C18. [ . . . ]. .[

(Lacuna)

Col. IV

Edge

E1-3 [ . . . . .

E4. [ . . . . . ]x x x[ . . . . .

E5. [x x -n]*u-un pa-ra-a-ma* x x x[ . . . . .

E6. [*na-a*]*t*<sup>2</sup> <sup>URU</sup>*Ku-wa-la-pa-aš-ša pa[-a-it wa-a-tar-ma*

E7. [*ku-i*]*t* NU.GÁL *e-eš-ta nu ka-ni[-* . . . . .

E8. [*na-a*]*t*<sup>2</sup> *ka-ni-ri-wa-an ku-it e*<sup>3</sup>*[-eš-ta*<sup>2</sup> *nu Ú-UL*

E9. [*ku-it*]*ki i-ia-u-ua-aš e-eš-ta* x[ . .

E10. [*A-NA*] <sup>URU</sup>*Iš-na-ti an-da-an pa-a-u-e[-ni*

E11. [x x ]x *ar-kam-ma-na-mu Ú-[UL*<sup>2</sup> . . .

E12. [x x x ]*u*<sup>2</sup>*-nu-nu-un nu x* [ . . . .

(Long lacuna)

The purport of these pieces is clear. An enemy had repeatedly invaded (*arškit*) and ravaged the countries named in C 5-9. Among them appear Walma, Sanhata and Walwara, the first of which is the same as the last item mentioned as borderland to the land of the Hulaya River, while the two latter are within it.<sup>11</sup> Sanhata and Walwara are in fact towards the end of the description of the boundary (CTH 106), immediately after Saliya which marks the end of the Hatti frontier and the point of contact with Kizzuwadna. The enemy had reached Kuwalapassa and had advanced to Zallara, the Lower Land, and Harziuna, which he made his frontier. Hattusili attacked and repelled them. The Lukka Lands are closely involved, either as attacker or as victim. This has been duly seen by all the scholars who have discussed the fragments.

Garstang in *JNES* III p. 33 (1944) assumed that the land of Walma of this text was the same as that of the battle on the Astarpa, which in *AJA* 47 p. 44 he had associated with the classical Holmoi in Phrygia north-east of Apamea and near Ipsus (Strabo 663).<sup>12</sup> He argued, as did Forrer, that in this way the boundary of the Hulaya River land, which ended with Walma, described a circle and returned to its starting point next to the country of Pitassa, and pointed out that between Saliya and Walma it was not fixed but open to further extension by

<sup>10</sup>Plural (or collective) subjects such as ERÍN MEŠ are assumed on account of l. 10.

<sup>11</sup>So Forrer in his *Forschungen* (1926) p. 31. In accordance with his views on geography he identified Walwara, Mata and Sanhata with villages named Ibrala, Divle and Korash on the plateau between Karaman and Ereğli, Sallusa with (cl.) Soloi on the coast, Nahita with an unknown place in the mountains between (ibid. 78), and Walma – which he identified also with the site of the battle on the River Astarpa – with a crossing-place of the River Seiha above Adana (ibid. 47). With the fixing of Arzawa in the west and Kizzuwadna in the east these views became totally obsolete.

<sup>12</sup>For the location of Walma cf. T. R. Bryce in *AnSt* XXIV 109 n. 45, and below.

- C15. I, Hatt[usilis] . . . . .  
 C16. conquered, a[nd] . . . . .  
 C17. [. . .] . stone . . . . .  
 C18. [. . . .] . . [. . . . .]

(Lacuna)

### Edge

- E1-4 [. . . . .]  
 E5. I [. . . . .] but . . [. . . . .]  
 E6. *They* w[ent] to Kuwalapassa . . . . <sup>10</sup>  
 E7. [becau]se there was no [water, *they*] *were* thir[sty]  
 E8. because [. . . . . *were*] thirsty  
 E9. there was [nothin]g to be done [*and they said*]  
 E10. “[. . .] We will go to Isnati [. . . . .]”  
 E11. [. . .] tribute [. . .] not [. . . . .]  
 E12. I [. . . . .]

(Long lacuna)

force of arms. Since he placed the Hulaya River Land on the plateau, it was not difficult for him to see the incursion as “debouching into the open, perhaps by way of Ilgin, across the plain to Zallara, and on to Nahita (= Niğde), returning by a southern route past Walwara and Sanhata via Beyşehir to Arzawa.”

In *MSS VI* (1955) p. 31 (repeated *Or.* 27 (1958), 381, and in his *Geschichte* (1973) p. 339) Cornelius gave a new transliteration and translation of XXI 6a rev. He was interested mainly in the geography. He proposed to interpret the list of places as running east to west. Walma he too equated phonetically with Greek Holmoi but pointed out that there was another place of this name at the mouth of the Calycadnus (Strabo 670), and since a short distance to the west, in rough Cilicia, was a place named Nagidos (ibid.) there was a good chance that these two coastal towns were the Walma and Nahita with which Hattusilis' list begins. Since the following places, Walwara, Sanhata and Surimma, were in the Hulaya River Land, he assumed that this Holmoi must also then be the Country of Walma figuring as the (last) item in the boundary of that land, though there Nahita is not mentioned; for him the Hulaya river was the Calycadnus, so the city of Niğde, though attested as Nahitiya in the Andaval hieroglyphic inscription, would seem quite out of context.<sup>13</sup> The boundary would no longer form a circle, but would be in two segments, each running west to east, but he supported this with a theory that in their descriptions of boundaries the Hittites did not follow a continuous circle but listed first the places confronting Hatti itself and then the places on the opposite side, where there was no fixed boundary, in the same direction. He gave as an example the boundary of Timmuhala in *KUB XIX 37*, but this cannot be proved as the places are unknown. Cornelius argued that the enemy in question was Ahhiyawa, located by him in Pamphylia, which on the

<sup>13</sup>Cf. Laroche, *Hethitica VI* 87 f.

death of Muwatallis overran Cilicia Tracheia and Lycaonia, as far north as Harziuna which he equated with Garsaura (Aksaray). Hattusilis however drove them back and established Tarhuntassa as a buffer state.

A résumé and a brief criticism of the Hattusili fragments and the work done on them was given by Susanne Heinhold-Krahmer in her book *Arzawa* p. 246 (1977). T. R. Bryce in *JNES* 33, 397 ff. (1974), considered the fragments as supporting a location of the Lukka Lands in Lycaonia. Neither discussed the places mentioned in any detail.

In 1983 I. Singer in *AnSt* XXXIII, 208, while considering historical fragments related to western Anatolia, added a new dimension to the discussion by finding in the <sup>1</sup>P[i- of B4 the name of the well-known raider Piyamaradus. Simultaneously S. Heinhold-Krahmer had the same idea.<sup>14</sup> Singer hinted at the possibility that in this case the incursions here described might be the very same activities that provoked the protest to the king of Ahhiyawa in the Tawagalawas Letter *KUB* XIV 3 and the words “I sent him a man” of B 9 might refer to the mission of the *TARTENU* in the letter in response to his request for vassaldom. He also drew attention to three other fragments Bo.6447 (*KUB* XLVIII 80), *KBo* XIX 78, and *KBo* XXVII 4 all of which contain the name of this freebooter, but did not elaborate further. The same consideration doubtless prompted Cornelius to include the fragment *KUB* XXIII 111 in the Annals (see above, p. 128).

M. Forlanini in *Vicino Oriente* 7 (1988), 157–9, suggested that Singer’s fragments might well belong to the Hattusilis annals and recalled the fragment *KUB* XXXI 19 treated by Meriggi which had been hitherto neglected. He pointed out a number of striking phrases common to these fragments and the letter of Tawagalawas, which would support Singer’s tentative hint that the disturbance of the Lukka Lands by Piyamaradus might be the subject of both texts. After a thorough discussion of the geography of the whole Taurus area he offered a map on which Walma (near Çay), Walwara (alongside Beyşehir Lake), and the Hulaya River Land are north of the Taurus, Tarhuntassa is in the foothills, while Zallara is with Ura on the lower Calycadnus, Nahita is the coastal Nagidos, and Rough Cilicia is assigned to the Lukka Lands. The whole of this vast area, including Tarhuntassa, would have fallen to Piyamaradus early in the reign of Hattusilis, but he drove them back. This is essentially the interpretation of Cornelius, but with different premises and reinforced by a wealth of toponymic details. Forlanini had then no knowledge of the bronze tablet and regarded the Ulmi-Teshub treaty as a document of Tudhaliyas.

The publication of the bronze tablet by Otten in 1988 came too late for Forlanini. In his commentary Otten (pp. 37–8) compared the lists of *KUB* XXI 6a, adding for the first time those on the obverse (here A) which had never yet even been transliterated.<sup>15</sup> The names Parha, Hawaliya and HARhasuwanda are found on the bronze tablet; Walwara is associated with Hawaliya and separated from Sanhata and Surimma. By its references to the sea and to the river Kastaraya in connexion with Parha the new text makes it probable that in it all these places from Sanhata to Parha run along the Mediterranean coast from east to west, the river Aksu, classical Kestros, marking their western limit. But Walma, as in the Ulmi-Teshub treaty, is separated from the rest and is the reference point for a new group of places beyond Parha in the west.

Otten was only concerned with the Hattusilis fragments in so far as they elucidated the new text. The historical implications were developed and expounded

<sup>14</sup>*Or.* 52, 97.

<sup>15</sup>Cf. Gurney, *Festschrift Sedat Alp* (1992) 218.

in full by J. Freu, however, in his substantial article “Hittites et Achéens” in *LAMA* XI (1990) p. 49. Freu points out differences between the events implied in the Hattusilis fragments and the activities of Piyamaradus and reserves judgement on the thesis of Forlanini, but his interpretation is similar to Garstang’s. The fragments of the Hattusilis annals are “a unique but eloquent testimony of a grave invasion affecting the southern provinces of the Hittite Empire. . . . An anonymous enemy had crossed at Walma, which had formed the frontier between Hatti and Arzawa at the beginning of the reign of Mursilis, and had reached Niğde (Nahita). . . . They thus passed even the limits reached by the Arzawan people at the beginning of the reign of Suppiluliumas I. Though Mira is not cited, it is almost certain that its elderly prince was implicated, as well as the notorious Piyamaradus. . . . But the bronze tablet proves that Hattusilis restored the situation and reconquered the lost territory. . . . A comparison of the Ulmi-Teshub treaty with the bronze tablet shows that the situation had developed favourably between the composition of the earlier treaty, of which *CTH* 106 is the witness, and its later avatar, the treaty on bronze. . . . Whereas *CTH* 106 left the frontier undemarcated and made no mention of the sea, the bronze tablet merely envisages an operation against Parha beyond the river Kastaraya to be conducted by the Great King himself. At the time of *CTH* 106 the regions affected by the invasion of *CTH* 82 had not been pacified; by the beginning of the reign of Tudhaliyas calm had been restored and the kingdom of Tarhuntassa had acquired a solid frontier on the Cestos/Aksu which forms a deep rift across the plain of Pamphylia. The eastern frontier of the land of the Hulaya River is fixed precisely on the ‘High Mountain’, . . . the Bulgardağ. It corresponds there to the ancient limits separating Hatti from Kizzuwadna. To the west of the River Lamiya (Lamos) the active port of Ura, so often mentioned in the texts of Ugarit, remained part of the ‘royal domain’. Among the various localities enumerated in *CTH* 106 and the bronze tablet, some certainly delimited the frontier between Tarhuntassa and Ura, particularly those facing the town of Usawala, perhaps classical Isaura. These would have been in Cilicia Tracheia. One of the differences between the two treaties affects the positions of Usawala and Walma. In *CTH* 106 Usawala is one of the frontier-positions of the country of Walma (obv. 32); in the bronze tablet it is an autonomous centre from which are fixed the limits of the district, at Hassuwanta, Mila, Palmata, etc. Usawala and its dependencies, cited after the High Mountain, formed the boundary of the vassal kingdom to the west, between Rough Cilicia and Isauria. This region is separated from Walma by the paragraph on Hawaliya and the province on the sea coast, several cities of which appear in the other text among the places ‘on the outside’. One wonders whether this expression means ‘in the direction of the sea’ and whether the vassal was not here being invited to reconquer lost provinces. The return to Walma in the bronze treaty following the lines devoted to the river Kastaraya and Parha, like that in the Ulmi-Teshub treaty, completes the encirclement of a territory bordered in the south by the Mediterranean, in the east by the Cilician Taurus, in the west by the Pamphylian Cestos, and in the north by a series of heights separating it from the provinces of the royal domain.”

He goes on to “complete the map of Asia Minor” as he sees it. The territory of Ura lies between the Lamos and that of Tarhuntassa and belongs to Hatti. Tarhuntassa itself is at Meydancik Kale. Rough Cilicia and Pamphylia form the appanage of Ulmi-Teshub/Kurunta formed out of the ancient kingdom of Arzawa conquered by Mursili II. West of the Kastaraya river lies Parha/Perge, and beyond are the Lukka Lands from which came the “revolt” of *CTH* 82. That this territory also had been part of Arzawa, with its capital Apasa at Habesos

(Kaş), is supported by the identification of Mt. Arinnanda (Garstang, *AJA* 47, 46) and Buranda (cf. the ethnic Borandeus for a region in Caria). But after the Hittite conquest of Arzawa it had been occupied by the Lycians, who during the dark age following the collapse of Hatti pushed on into Lycaonia. Many Lycian towns retain their names. Millawanda is Miletus rather than Milyas, which has no remains, the Seha River is the Maeander, and Appawiya is Euhippe in Caria.

P. H. Houwink ten Cate in his review of the bronze tablet in *ZA* 82 (1992) also treated these fragmentary texts at some length, though without mentioning the work of either M. Forlanini or J. Freu. He too favoured the proposal that the enemy who invaded Hattusilis's kingdom was Piyamaradus (coming from Millawanda) and suggested that the main thrust of the invasion may have been eastwards, north of the Taurus, and only secondarily along the coastal strip. Since he regarded Ulmi-Teshub as Kurunta's successor he explained the open boundary after Saranduwa in the former's treaty as due to loss of territory during the reign of Tudhaliyas.

Since this was written the main development has been the publication of the hieroglyphic Yalburt and Südburg inscriptions by M. Poetto and J. D. Hawkins.<sup>16</sup> Both deal with campaigns in faraway Lycia, Yalburt by Tudhaliyas IV, Südburg by his successor Suppiluliumas II, and thus with events later than those with which we are concerned, but they contain the name Luk(k)a, together with Awarna, Wiyanawanda and Talawa, which are known from other Hittite texts relating to the same area of Lycia-Pisidia, and *Pi-na-416* which is the Hittite Pina in the same contexts. Poetto argued, and Hawkins has accepted, that Awarna and Pina must be the 'AWRN of the trilingual inscription (= Lycian Arīna, classical Xanthos) and the classical Pinara, and it follows naturally that Talawa should be the Lycian Tlos and Wiyanawanda the Lycian Oenoanda. The area thus defined lies wholly west of the Cestrus which marked the limit of Hittite territory at the beginning of the reign of Tudhaliyas, and the campaigns in question would be consistent with the clause in the treaty on the bronze tablet by which territory beyond Parha/Perge was open to annexation by the Hittite king.<sup>17</sup>

We return, however, to the subject of this essay. In his section on the boundary of Tarhuntassa, Professor Hawkins has made use of the fragmentary Hattusilis annals at several points. It is a record of "hostilities with the Lukka Lands" (p. 56), of a presumed enemy "whose itinerary is given by the list of places in XXI 6a rev." (quoted in note 181). He argues that because the juxtaposition of Walma and Nagidos at the beginning of this itinerary favours Cornelius' identification with Strabo's Holmoi and Nagidos at the mouth of the

<sup>16</sup>Photographs of YALBURT *apud* T. Özgüç, *Inandiktepe* (1988); monograph by M. Poetto *L'iscrizione luvio-geroglifica di YALBURT* (1993); article by J. D. Hawkins and monograph on SÜDBURG with appendix on YALBURT (1992 and 1995 (see above, n. 1).

<sup>17</sup>The appearance of a Wiyanawanda corresponding to Lycian Oenoanda admittedly raises doubts about the location of Mira-Kuwaliya near the Akar Çay (which has been generally accepted), since the "sinkholes of Wiyanawanda" are said to have been on its Hittite frontier (Kupanta-KAL treaty S9). Bryce in *JNES* 51, 122 has used this as evidence for a location of the Lukka Lands in Lycaonia on account of the location of the Yalburt inscription; Cornelius in *RHA* XVI/62, 9 on the contrary for a location of Mira in Caria, the Astarpa and Siyanti rivers being the Maeander and the Indus respectively. But this question is outside the scope of this article. It is more usual to suppose the existence of more than one Wiyanawanda, though the central one has no classical reflex. Cf. E. Laroche, *Hethitica* VI (1985), 87 f. A different Wiyanawanda is certainly attested in *KUB* XXXVIII 1 (Forlanini, *Fs. Alp*, 178) and there was another between Kummanni and Lawazantiya, *KBo* XVII 103 i 16f. (*Fs. Meriggi*, 171).

Calycadnus, the places listed should run from there along the coast westwards to the Cestrus. This was also partly the view of Forlanini (*VO* 7 158 f.), who understood Nahita, Sallusa, Sanhata and Surimma as forming the eastern part of the Lukka Lands, under Hittite sovereignty; but he, like Otten, was convinced that the Walma of this list must be the western place of that name, the site of the battle with Arzawa, near Ipsus and modern Çay, and this is accepted by Hawkins himself for the Walma of the Hulaya River boundary (n. 178). Both Garstang and Freu placed Walma and Nahita in the north, supposing an invasion starting from the west or south-west and advancing across the plateau as far east as Niğde. Cornelius took the list as running east to west along the south coast; but for him this coastline was the starting point (Ahhiyawa and the Lukka Lands) and the invasion was northward up the valleys. For Forlanini the invader (Piyamaradus), who certainly started in the west, must have travelled eastwards, though he does not mark the places on his map and since he separated Nahita from Walma and identified it with Nagidos, he clearly cannot have regarded the list as being in geographical order.

Hawkins has difficulty in explaining such an invasion along the coast from the east, and supposes it might have been seaborne. But since in the bronze tablet the other places Sanhata, Surimma, Saranduwa and Sallusa are said to run along the coast westwards toward Perge, he considers (note 199) that this reference strengthens the identification of Walma and Nahita with the coastal Holmoi and Nagidos (i.e. we have not one but two arguments for their location: one is their juxtaposition, the other their being part of an "itinerary" that includes three places on the coast). This argument depends on the assumption that Hattusilis' list is "an itinerary". There is no evidence for this and it has not been suggested before. They are simply a list of thirteen places (four of them missing) that were raided by the enemy. Neither the order in which they were attacked nor the time taken is stated. Their order, as remarked by Otten and others, is to some extent the reverse of that in the frontier: in the frontier Walwara and Hawaliya precede, in the list they come at the end; Sallusa is first in the list and last in the boundary. This should mean that the list runs west to east. But even this is not consistent. In the list Sanhata precedes Surimma as in the boundary, and Saranduwa, where the boundary is the sea, is omitted. The last place in the list, Inassara, if it is the same as Annassara of *KBo* XVIII 86,<sup>18</sup> would be in the west, with Talauwa (Tlos) and Huwarsanassa which with Sallawassa (= Sallusa?) belong to the Madduwattas context. In such a list juxtaposition has little significance, nor indeed are Walma and Nahita juxtaposed. The broken name Watta[ruwa(?)] and perhaps another name as well stand between them, and if this restoration is correct the place was certainly somewhere on the plateau. No Walma on the Cilician coast occurs elsewhere in Hittite: we know only a Walma near Çay. Some support for a Nahita on the Cilician coast might be claimed from the only other occurrence of this name in *IBoT* II 129 obv. 12, where it is mentioned as a source of wine together with Hiliqqa, which has a suggestive resemblance to the later Hilaqu "Cilicia". But this is quite uncertain, and there was certainly a Nahitiya (in the Iron Age) at Niğde. Freu pointed out that these two locations, if accepted, imply an invasion even greater than that attested for the invasion of Arzawa before Suppiluliumas, when the enemy reached Tuwanuwa (Tyana), a few miles south-west of Niğde. Such an invasion would

<sup>18</sup>See Forlanini, *VO* 7, 162; Freu, *Hethitica* VIII 140: letter edited by A. Hagenbüchener, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter*, 16THeth no.165.



mean the loss of the whole of the Lower Land (the Konya plain). What this would mean to the Hittites is shown by the letter *KUB XIX 23* in which shortly after the death of Hattusilis his son, Tudhaliyas, writing anxiously to the queen Puduhepa, feared that against a rebellion by the Lower Land no action would be possible.<sup>19</sup> The places in the list of Hattusilis are small. If this inference is correct, the omission of Ussa or Tarhuntassa itself would be surprising. Were they perhaps among those that are missing? By placing Nahita at Nagidos Professor Hawkins has been able to avoid this consequence. Yet the earlier invasion shows that the great distance involved (Hawkins, n. 199) is no serious objection.

We have also to consider the stated boundary. Hawkins takes the enemy inland up the Aksu valley to Walwara and Hawaliya, reaching Kuwalapassa, classical Colbasa, where he fixes frontiers “up” at Zallara, in the Lower Land, and at Harziuna (p. 56). Usually the term ZAG “boundary” denotes places belonging to the territory defined. For Zallara Forrer found possible survivals of the name at Zoldera 38 Km SSW of Konya or “Tschorla” between Eregli and Karaman (*Forschungen I* 38–40, cf. Freu, *Hethitica VIII* 139 ff.). But if Hoffner’s restorations are accepted it was close to Ura at the mouth of the Calycadnus (*JCS* 22, 37). Forlanini located it at Mut. Harziuna is associated with Sallapa and belongs to a more northern context.<sup>20</sup> Cornelius has equated it with Garsaura (*MSS* 6, 32), Mellaart with Gordion (*AfO Beih.* 19, 374). Such a boundary makes sense only for an invader coming from the west. For Piyamaradus moving by sea westwards along the Mediterranean coast it would be incomprehensible.

In the opinion of the present writer, the most plausible reconstruction of events is that of Freu, though I think he exaggerates in making it a full-scale invasion. All the text implies is a series of raids, and I am inclined to agree with Forlanini in combining the events with those implied in the Tawagalawas Letter.

Professor Hawkins’ elucidation of the Hulaya River Land’s boundary is not necessarily affected. The “jump” to the West which he assumes following Saliya would be consistent with the occurrence of the names Walwara and Hawaliya and the restoration of HARhassuwanta, Nata and Wasuwatta (or perhaps rather Wasuwala) in the text of *KUB XXI 6a* obv. and rev. (here A and C). Yet to assume a continuous circuit, distinguishing Usaula from Usawala and locating all these places on the eastern frontier, would be a more natural interpretation of the bronze tablet’s text. The invaded territory would then have included the whole of Tarhuntassa-Land.<sup>21</sup>

### *The Lukka Lands*

It has been remarked at the outset that the Lukka Lands are closely involved in the events described in this text, either as aggressor or as victim.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup>Hagenbüchner, op. cit. no. 18. See also Singer, *AnSt* XXXIII 214.

<sup>20</sup>*KBo* XIV 20 i 19 ff., and *KBo* XVI 53, Forlanini, *SMEA* XVIII 214 f., del Monte, *RGTC* VI, s.v. Huwalusiya and Parduwata.

<sup>21</sup>The circuit is apparently resumed with Mata, Sanhata, Surimma and Saranduwa, at the last of which “the sea is the boundary”. Otten suggested this was at Anamur or Alanya. Would it not rather be at Kelenderis (modern Gilindere) which R. Beal wishes to be the site of Ura (*AnSt* XLII 65 ff.) but which in fact has a suggestive resemblance to Saranduwa?

<sup>22</sup>These lands and their location in Hittite Anatolia have been much discussed: see especially Garstang-Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, Chap. VI; T. R. Bryce, *JNES* 33 (1974), 395–404, *Antichthon* 19 (1979), 1–11, and *JNES* 51 (1992), 121–130 (with summary conclusion on final page); and most recently H. Otten, G. Steiner, and J. Börker-Klähn in *Akten des II. Internationalen Lykien-Symposions*, Ergänzungsband Nr. 17 zu den *Tituli Asiae Minoris* (Wien, 1993).

The expression occurs several times. They and a certain [...]wās (Tawagalawas??) are said to have made war (fragment A), and they appear to embrace the countries Hawaliya, Parha, and possibly Utima. In fragment B they appear in connexion with Pi[...] and his auxiliary troops and juxtaposed with Wallarimma, where the Hittite king is in residence. In fragment C they appear twice before a column line followed immediately by the list of thirteen countries which were exposed to the enemy's incursions. The whole purpose of this tablet, it seems, is to record the restoration of order in the Lukka Lands. The geographical context of the text is the south-west, and the Yalburt and Südburg inscriptions confirm this by introducing names like Awarna, Pina, and Wiyanawanda which seem to denote places in Lycia. Other names like Walma, Walwara, Talawa, Kuwalapassa, Usawala, Hawaliya, Sarmana, Ussanda, Wattaruwa, Inassara, point to Pisidia, Lycaonia or Isauria.<sup>23</sup> The spread of these names over a large area in the south-west is unmistakable. Sometimes the Lukka people appear as subjects or allies, sometimes as rebels or enemies. To the Hittites, it seems, this was a rather vague term without clear political boundaries. Where it appears with others in lists, either of foreign territories bordering Hatti (CTH 255.1, 682) or of countries that had revolted (CTH 377), the mere order of listing cannot be taken as evidence for a different location (cf. Otten, *JCS* XV). These are in fact "the Luwian-speaking countries", as cogently argued by Laroche many years ago in *Revue Archéologique* 70 (1979), 15 ff. and *RIA* VII, 183–4. In Singer's words (*AnSt* XXXIII, 208), Lukka Lands is "a loose geographical designation for southwestern Anatolia, used for a group of ethnically and culturally related communities and clans."

### POSTSCRIPT

The published copies have been checked against photographs kindly lent by Dr. H. Klengel from the Boğazköy-Archiv in Berlin. The photograph of Bo.4150 raises some doubt whether the left edge drawn by J. Sturm in *KUB* XXXI 19 actually exists. It is apparently confirmed by an old transcript by Ehelolf kindly sent by Prof. Dr. E. Neu, but should still be collated. If this fragment were broken down the column line, like XXI 6 and 6a, its text could be columns II and III instead of I and IV, with the obv. and rev. misjudged, as suggested above. The order of the segments of text would then be (col. II) E–A, (col. III) B–C–D; or, if the obv. and rev. were as originally supposed, (col. II) B–C–D, (col. III) E–A, with E directly following D. The latter, however, looks unlikely.

<sup>23</sup>Usawala was first compared with Isaura by Garstang (*JNES* III 32, now *ap. Freu, Heth.* VIII 130). Forlanini (*VO* 7) has a number of impressive suggestions. For Walwara, he compares (p. 156) David French's Zeus Ouolorenos in a dedication recorded at Kiyakdede near Şarkikaraağaç and İflatun Pınar (*AnSt* XXXIV 11). For Ussanda (with Pitassa and Sarmana) in a join to *KBo* XVIII 80, his equation with Vasada (Hall, *AnSt* XVIII map opp. p. 58) is noteworthy (p. 160). Sarmana is the place of the salt-lick in the bronze tablet. Tuzlukçu near Akşehir (Forlanini, loc. cit. n. 145) seems rather far north for this, as indeed does Kiyakdede for Walwara. Edmund Gordon found a more suitable place for the latter at Velverid Harabeleri W. of Seydişehir (private communication). For Kuwalapassa the reading is uncertain: see above, n. 8. Carruba has proposed to identify the name with Telmessos rather than Colbasa: see R. Lebrun in *Festschrift Sedat Alp* 362 ff. But in *KUB* XXIII 83 Kuwalapassa and Talawa are closely grouped with Iyalanda, which was on the Hittite king's route to Millawanda. Whether the latter was at Miletus or Milyas, it is difficult to see how this could have taken him anywhere near Telmessos.

Hattian Mythology and Hittite Monarchy

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# HATTIAN MYTHOLOGY AND HITTITE MONARCHY

By J. G. MACQUEEN

## *The Weather God of Nerik*

THE RITUAL TEXT published by H. Otten as *K.U.B. XXXVI* 89 + 88 is of great interest both for its linguistic and lexicographical difficulties and for the religious importance of the myth which it contains. This myth is concerned with the Weather-god of Nerik, and although the state of the tablet is too poor for a complete reconstruction to be made, the mutilated fragment that remains bears a striking resemblance to the well-known Telipinus-myth.<sup>1</sup> It begins (obv. 12) with the withdrawal of the Weather-god in anger :

12. DU URU*Ne-ri-ik-ya-za-kán ša-a-it nu*[

13. ]*ha-at-te-eš-ni GAM-an-da pa-a-it.*

Thereafter (ll. 16 sqq.) it seems that prosperity departs from the land. Unfortunately the vital verb is broken away.

16. *nu-ya-ra-aš-kán A-NA*[ ]*mi-ja-tar TI-tar MUHI.A.GÍD.DA*

17. DU URU*Ne-ri-ik*[

“The Weather-god of Nerik [took away?] increase, life and long years from [the earth?]”

The following lines (18-49) are devoted to attempts to persuade the god to return. Lines 50-57 seem concerned with ritual actions, and a double line after 57 probably indicates the conclusion of a section. When the text becomes intelligible again, a variant form of the myth has begun. Some one (presumably the Weather-god) withdraws from Nerik, this time in fear rather than anger.

Rs 2. ]*pi-ra-an u-i-ri-te-eš-ta NINDA har-ši iš-[pa-an-tu-zi-ja (?)*

3. ]*li*[ ]*at-ta na-aš-kán URUNe-ri-ik-qa-za É ka-r[i-im-na-za (?)*

4. *GIŠda]-ha-an-qa-za ar-ḥ[a i-ja-an]-ni-eš.*

“... grew frightened. The thick bread and wine he ... ed. And he went away from Nerik, the temple (?) and the *daḥanka*.”

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations are as on page iii of the cover, or in Laroche, *Recueil d'Onomastique Hittite* (1951), pp. 9-12. Other abbreviations are as follows :—

<i>Chrestomathy</i>	E. H. Sturtevant and George Bechtel, <i>A Hittite Chrestomathy</i> (1935).
<i>Gr</i> <sup>2</sup>	E. H. Sturtevant and E. A. Hahn, <i>A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language</i> , Revised Edition (1951).
<i>HG</i>	C. G. von Brandenstein, “Hethitische Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen in Keilschrifttexten”, <i>MVAeG.</i> XLVI (2) (1943).
<i>Hitt.</i>	Holger Pedersen, <i>Hittitisch und die anderen indo-europäischen Sprachen</i> (1938).
<i>HuH</i>	F. Sommer, <i>Hethiter und Hethitisch</i> (1947).
<i>HW</i>	J. Friedrich, <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch</i> (1952).
<i>RH</i>	G. Furlani, <i>La Religione degli Hittiti</i> (1936).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Otten, *KUB. XXXVI*, p. iii. Text *KUB. XVII*, 10, etc., cf. Otten: *Die Ueberlieferungen des Telipinu-mythus* (*MVAG.* 46.1), 1942.

Again his departure means disaster for mankind, for "he named the children of men for destruction" (line 9). Then, despite a good text, follows more obscurity. The Weather-god of Nerik, apparently out of kindness (Rs. 11), changes the course of the River Marasantas. Thereupon the Weather-god of Heaven orders the river back to its original course (19-20) and the River Nakkiliyatas is given the duty, assigned originally to the Marasantas, of carrying the Weather-god of Nerik away from his city. After a break the text resumes (ll. 40 sqq.) with a plea that the god will be as kind to the king as he was to the River Nakkiliyatas. This kindness is apparently to take the form of rain from heaven (ll. 54, 61-65). From line 62 it can be seen that the plea is made by one Huzziyas :

62. <sup>1</sup> ]Hu-u-uz-zi-ia-aš LÜ 600(?) <sup>1a</sup> ne-pi-ši ha-lu-qa-an tar-na-i

"Huzziyas the 'Six-Hundred-Man' sends this message to heaven."

This is in contrast to obv. 2, which states that the IM.ME-priest is in charge of the ritual, and serves to confirm the fact that there is a break after obv. 57.

Such then in outline is the myth. Obscure as it is in detail, it can reveal much of Hittite and especially of Hattian religion, for it is undoubtedly Hattian in origin. Its connection with Nerik, a site somewhere in Central Anatolia, and the mention of the Hattian god Sulikatte (obv. 14, 27) are sufficient to show that. Of its purpose there is also no doubt. The winning back of the god is simply the winning of rain from heaven (see above). And yet the god's method of disappearance serves to suggest something quite different. At the beginning of the myth (obv. 12) he retires into a *hatteššar*. This word has long been recognised<sup>2</sup> as meaning a "hole" of some kind. It is used of the lair of the dragon Illuyankas (*KUB*. XVII, 5, i, 6, 13) and, according to Forrer, of the hole of a toad or frog.<sup>3</sup> Sommer<sup>4</sup> connects the word with *haddai*- "to hew, cut, dig", and it could be a derivative in -šar from this root,<sup>5</sup> but the form *hantešnaz*<sup>6</sup> suggests that the root may be *hant*- rather than *hadd*-. In *IBoT*. II, 80, obv. 1-3, the word is used of gods :

1. na-aš-ta tak-na-aš DUTU-aš

2. ha-at-ti-eš-šar DHal-ki-ia-aš-ša

3. ha-at-te-eš-šar še-ir

4. ga-li-iš-ša-an-zi.

Both the deities mentioned in this passage are connected with the earth or underworld. The name Halki is simply a translation into Hittite

<sup>1a</sup> Sign GÍŠ+U, taken by Forrer (*IBoTU*. 20, note on sign 202) as "Ner" (600), but by Sedat Alp (*Beamtennamen*, 25 n. 6) and K. Riemschneider (*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* VI, 355, n. 129) as 60 + 10, i.e. 70. The title LÜ.GÍŠ+U is evidently a variant of UGULA . GÍŠ+U, which occurs in *KBo* V, 7 rev. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Forrer in Kretschmer, *KIF*. I, p. 310<sup>2</sup> : Friedrich in Porzig, *KIF*. I, p. 382<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> a-ku-ya-ku-ya-aš, giving Bo. 2738 as reference. Friedrich (*HW*. sub. voc.) cannot trace the example.

<sup>4</sup> *HAB*. 99.

<sup>5</sup> Sturtevant, *Gr*<sup>2</sup> § 96.

<sup>6</sup> XVII 5, i, 6.

of the Hattian grain-god Kait,<sup>7</sup> while the Sun-goddess of the Earth<sup>8</sup> is a deity concerned with the underworld and the dead. In this text the purpose of the "hole" is obviously to communicate with chthonic deities, and this is true also of XXXVI 89. By going down into a "hole" the Weather-god goes through the "gates of black night" (obv. 19) to his mother EREŠ.KI.GAL, and the ritual call (obv. 10) *yi yi purušael purušael* (the latter may be connected with Hattian *fur* "earth") and the sacrifices in the "hole" (obv. 4) are obviously means of summoning him out again. The "hole" in other words is an entrance to the Underworld, a Hell-mouth like those so common in Classical times.

In the second part of the myth we learn more of this "hole". There it is a river into which the Weather-god descends. Then (rev. 16-17) come his orders to the river ;

*zi-ik-ma-ya-ra-an* <sup>1D</sup>*Ma-ra-aš-ša-an-ta-aš tam-me-e-da-ni*

<sup>1D</sup>*i tam-mi-e-da-ni TÚL-ni li-e tar-na-at-ti.*

"But you, River Marasantas, do not let him (i.e. the Weather-god of Nerik) go into another river or another spring."

Until this point there has been no mention of "springs". The Weather-god has gone into a river, and into a *ḫatteššar*. Neither of the words listed by Friedrich<sup>9</sup> as equivalents for TÚL would have a dative ending in *-ni*, so that some alternative must be sought. In this case at least it seems clear that the word in question is *ḫattešni*, which occurs so often in the text. A *ḫatteššar* then is more than a "hole": it is the hole from which a river rises, a spring of underground water which could easily be taken as an entrance to the lower world. The god's departure in anger represents in mythological terms a period of drought, a period in which the springs dry up.

We must then assume two levels for the myth, corresponding in all probability to the two sections of the text. The original Hattian version, represented by the first section, was concerned with the drying up of underground waters, and this ritual method of winning back water was later used by the Hittites as a means of encouraging their water supply, which they regarded as coming rather from the clouds of heaven than from within the earth.<sup>10</sup> The same purpose can I think be detected behind the very similar Telipinus-myth. It has been assumed,<sup>11</sup> because of this myth's

<sup>7</sup> Laroche, *RHA.* 46, p. 26.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Tenner, *ZA.* NF. 4, pp. 186-90. For this deity as a goddess cf. Otten, *ZA.* NF. 12, p. 220, n. 1 : *JCS.* 4, p. 120, n. 7, i.e. *ták-na-aš* <sup>D</sup>UTU-uš GAŠAN-ia.

<sup>9</sup> *HW.* sub voc. Cf. Forrer : *Glotta* Bd. 26 (1938), pp. 178-202.

<sup>10</sup> "On Lykaion, the mountain of Zeus in Arcadia, there was a well called Hagno. When there was a drought, the priest of Zeus went to the well, dipped a twig into its waters, and stirred them up. At once a mist was seen to rise from the well ; it thickened into a cloud, and there was rain all over Arcadia. The rite is the simplest possible example of ordinary rain-magic ; but it is performed by the priest of Zeus, and is accompanied by a sacrifice ; religion has taken it in hand." (Nilsson : *History of Greek Religion* (1925), p. 90.)

<sup>11</sup> Most recently by Rutten in *Histoire Generale des Religions* 4, p. 93 : Moscati in *Il Profilo dell'Oriente Mediterraneo*, p. 173 ; Gaster in *Thespis* (1950), p. 357 ; Cavaignac in

superficial resemblance to other Near Eastern vegetation-myths, that Telipinus is a deity of vegetation, and that his myth is of the dying-god type,<sup>12</sup> representing the annual death and rebirth of vegetation. To this interpretation there are two overwhelming objections.

Firstly, there is no hint that the myth is in any way connected with an annual ceremony.<sup>13</sup> In fact it is related of several gods, and its ritual purpose is turned to private use. Secondly, and more vitally, Telipinus does not die; like the Weather-god of Nerik, *he withdraws in anger*. It is a point of fundamental importance in myths of this type that the god should die, or at least be snatched to the land of death against his (or her) will. A dying-god myth without a dying god is, like "Hamlet" without the Prince of Denmark, a manifest absurdity. It is surely the fact of the death and rebirth of a vegetation deity that gives the myth its impact and its significance. The Telipinus-myth is on no such lofty plane. It is simply an attempt to win back a rather stubborn water-deity in time of drought.

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*Les Hittites* (1950), p. 22; Contenau in *La Civilisation des Hittites* (1948), p. 122. It is interesting to note how Gaster's interpretation has led him astray. "The trees," he says on page 353, "are denuded of leaves, and the springs are frozen over (lit. dried up)". It is clear that the text means exactly what it says; there is no question of "freezing over".

<sup>12</sup> The idea that gods of the Attis-Adonis type are in fact gods of vegetation is deep rooted and, for the historical period at least, almost certainly correct. But there are indications that in origin they too have close connections with underground waters. I hope in a later article to discuss the Sumerian Dumuzi. It is surprising, to say the least, that he is in Sumerian times a shepherd-god and the implacable opponent of the farmer-god. This seems scarcely to indicate a god of vegetation. The myth of his Syrian counterpart Adonis is associated with a river of the same name, which "rushes from a cavern at the foot of a mighty amphitheatre of towering cliffs". (Frazer: *The Golden Bough*, chapter XXX.) Again we may quote from Frazer (chapter XXXVI) the story of Marsyas. "He was said to be a Phrygian satyr of Silenus, according to others a shepherd or herdsman, who played sweetly on the flute. A friend of Cybele, he roamed the country with the disconsolate goddess to soothe her grief for the death of Attis. The composition of the Mother's Air, a tune played on the flute in honour of the Great Mother Goddess, was attributed to him by the people of Celaenae in Phrygia. Vain of his skill, he challenged Apollo to a musical contest, he to play on the flute and Apollo on the lyre. Being vanquished, Marsyas was tied up to a pine tree and flayed or cut limb from limb either by the victorious Apollo or by a Scythian slave. His skin was shown at Celaenae in historical times. It hung at the foot of the citadel in a cave from which the River Marsyas rushed with an impetuous and noisy tide to join the Maeander. So the Adonis bursts full-born from the precipices of the Lebanon; so the blue river of Ibreez leaps in a crystal jet from the red rocks of the Taurus; so the stream which now rumbles deep underground, used to gleam for a moment on its passage from darkness to darkness in the dim light of the Corycian cave. In all these copious fountains, with their glad promise of fertility and life, men of old saw the hand of god and worshipped him beside the rushing river with the music of its tumbling waters in their ears." Or rather one would say that they worshipped the water itself as the symbol of the abundance and fecundity which was the partner and offspring of the earth.

Again we find the intimate connection with underground waters. And here too the skin of Marsyas bears a striking resemblance to that hung before Telipinus in his ritual. Another link between that deity and the waters of the earth? Frazer would have denied this. But in his interpretation of these deities as tree and corn spirits he constantly minimises their connection with water, any reference to it being arbitrarily dismissed as a "charm to promote rain". One must ask how the casting of the body of a deity into a river, or the hanging of his skin beside an underground source, can be regarded as a rain charm.

<sup>13</sup> Already stressed by Gurney, *The Hittites* (1954), pp. 188-9.

Telipinus is a Hattian "weather-god" like the Weather-god of Nerik.<sup>14, 15</sup> The version of the myth which substitutes "the Weather-god" for Telipinus is in itself sufficient proof for this assertion. It serves to show that the blight that afflicted the unfortunate Pirwas was nothing more than the drying up of his well.<sup>16</sup>

The religious significance which the Hattians attached to waters which came from the earth is shown in the myth of the *Puruli*-festival, the Illuyankas-myth. It has already been mentioned that the lair of Illuyankas was in a *hatteššar*, and it can now be seen that the word has here a very pregnant meaning. The battle is fought at the edge of a spring between the force that supplies water (the so-called Weather-god) and the force (the "dragon") which deprives men of it. The struggle is seen as a projection to the divine plane of the struggle between life and death, between drought and plenty, the very struggle with which the *puruli*-festival was concerned.

### *The Sun Goddess of Arinna*

Further chthonic connections for the myth of the Weather-god of Nerik are to be found by an examination of the other deities concerned. The names Uruzimu (obv. 3, rev. 5) and Urunte/imu (obv. 25, 39: rev. 10, 34, 51) occur. From the context it seems clear that a single deity is intended, and that the variation is one of spelling only. This deity is (rev. 5) one of the deities to whom the Weather-god "goes down", and (obv. 39) seems to be in charge of the "gates of black night". The names as well as the

<sup>14</sup> An equation with the Weather-god of Heaven has already been suggested by Von Brandenstein (*HG.*, pp. 72-3). This is rejected by Laroche (*RHA.* 46, pp. 34, 109) on the grounds that an obviously chthonic deity like Telipinus cannot be a "Weather-god". On the contrary it is, as shown above, perfectly possible and natural that this should be so.

<sup>15</sup> These Hattian water deities, although in Hittite times they bore the Sumerian ideogram IM, in reality have a striking resemblance to an entirely different Sumerian god, Enki, lord of the sweet waters. He is well described by Thorkild Jacobsen in *Before Philosophy* (1949), p. 159, where due stress is placed on the active role of water. "The Earth . . . was immobile; hers is the passive productivity, fertility. Water, on the other hand, . . . typifies active productivity, conscious thought, creativity". This is exactly the distinction in Hattian times between goddesses like Wurusemu and gods like Telipinus, and raises again the much discussed question of "Asianic" religion. Is there, for instance, any connection between EN.KI "Lord of the Earth" and Wurunkatte, whose name is usually translated "King of the Land", but may well be "King of the Earth"? He is equated with Zababa and thus presumably has warlike functions, but he is associated with the Weather-god of Nerik, and this with his name suggests that he too may be connected with the creative power of water. An interesting Cappadocian seal discussed by Dussaud (*La Lydie et ses Voisins* (1930), p. 118) shows a water-producing ceremony in which the central figure is Enki, flanked by Adad and a god, presumably local, who clutches a spear. From the arrangement of the seal it may be inferred that this deity is a storm-god like Adad, but the central position of Enki suggests that the water is conceived as coming from the earth rather than from the sky. Have we here a contemporary example of the syncretism which united the Hattian water-god and the Hittite storm-god into a single figure?

It must be noted that the local god's spear is for sacrifice, and that the seal also shows the slaying of a hanging animal. Is this water-sacrifice like that which obviously lies behind the hanging skin of Marsyas? And are the human victims examples of Frazer's "divine king"?

<sup>16</sup> Otten: *Tel.M.*, pp. 63-4.



location bear a striking resemblance to that of the Hattian goddess Wurušemu, and all three must I think be spelling variants. Although I can find no example, it is likely that Hittite might in the absence of a character for *wu*<sup>17</sup> represent an original Hattian *wu* by *ú*. *Úa* is in fact sometimes represented by *ú*.<sup>18</sup> The three forms of the name would then be :—

- (a) *Wuruzimu*.
- (b) *Wurunte/imu*.
- (c) *Wuru(n)šemu*.

All of these could be derived from an original \**Wuruntsemu*. For the consonant mutation *t* < *z*- cf. *Zašhapuna*/*Tašhapuna*,<sup>19</sup> and for Hittite *z* = Hattian *t* cf. *tešha-/zašhai*.<sup>20</sup> For *ts* < *z* cf. also *zikk-* as iterative of *dai-*, i.e. \**t-sk-*.<sup>21</sup> For omission of pre-dental *-n-* cf. <sup>d</sup>*Habantali* = <sup>d</sup>*Habatali*.<sup>22</sup> Change between *z* and *š* is rarer, but an example may be the variation between *zakkar* and *šakkar*, the identity of which has been suggested by Götze-Pedersen<sup>23</sup> and questioned by Friedrich.<sup>24</sup> Compare also the variation between *š* and *z* (written *š*) in Hattian pointed out by Laroche,<sup>25</sup> with the example *šipzil* = *šipšil*.

Wurusemu is elsewhere<sup>26</sup> equated with the Sun-goddess of Arinna. This goddess is in turn equated with Sumerian Ereshkigal. This is probable from the prayer and ritual text *KUB. IX, 13* + *KUB. XXIV, 5*, where the following passage occurs (obv. 35–rev. 2: the translation is by Goetze, from *ANET*, p. 355). The king speaks :—

“To (appearing before) thee (i.e. the Sun-god of Heaven), I might prefer appearing before the Sun-goddess of Arinna. (Afterward) he goes into ( . . . ) and (sacrific)es (one . . . sheep) to Ereshkigal.”

The equation is confirmed by *KUB. XXXVI 90*, ll. 10 sqq.<sup>27</sup>

10. *e-ḫu-ya* <sup>DU</sup> *URU* *Ne-ri-ik*

11. *ne-pi-ša-az ma-a-an-za* <sup>DU</sup> *ni A-NA A-BI-KA*

12. *ma-a-an-ma-za da-an-ku-i da-ga-an-zi-pi*

13. *A-NA* <sup>PEREŠ.KI.GAL</sup> *AMA-KA GAM-an*

“Come, Weather-god of Nerik, from heaven, if you are with the Weather-god your father, or in the dark earth with Ereshkigal your mother.”

The parents of the Weather-god are elsewhere well attested. His

<sup>17</sup> The sign *wu* is used exclusively in texts in the Hattian and Hurrian languages.

<sup>18</sup> e.g. *ḡaranu* and *uranu* (Fr. *Heth.El.*, § 17a) : cf. *na-a-ḡi* and *na-a-ú-i* (Pedersen, *Hitt.*, p. 7) : cf. also *Wašḡaniya* and *Ušḡaniya* in Cappadocian texts (Finkelstein, *JCS. X 3* (1956), p. 104).

<sup>19</sup> Laroche, op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Fr. *Heth.El.*, § 24.

<sup>22</sup> Laroche, p. 23.

<sup>23</sup> *M.Spr.* 35, n. 1.

<sup>24</sup> *HW.* sub voc.

<sup>25</sup> *RA. XLI* (1947), p. 73.

<sup>26</sup> *XXVIII, 6*, obv. 12. Forrer, *ZDMG. NF.1* (1922), p. 239. Friedrich : *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* (1932), p. 5.

<sup>27</sup> cf. Otten, *JCS. 4* (1950), p. 135.

father is, as here, the Weather-god, and his mother the Sun-goddess of Arinna. Clearly there must be some connection between this goddess and Ereshkigal.

The issue is further complicated by Otten's demonstration<sup>28</sup> that in the god-lists contained in Hittite treaties the names Ereshkigal, Lelwani and Allatum are interchangeable, and all refer to the same deity, who is classed among the gods of the underworld. Now the surprising thing about this series of equations is that the Sun-goddess of Arinna, *if she is a solar deity*, is curiously out of place among deities like the Hattian Wurusemu, Sumerian Ereshkigal, Accadian Allatum and Hurrian<sup>29</sup> (?) Lelwani.<sup>30</sup> These goddesses all have distinctly chthonic connections and Wurusemu, the deity whose name is probably concealed behind all these writing variants,<sup>31</sup> is a goddess of a type familiar in this area from the earliest times. As far back as our records reach, they stress the supreme importance in Asia Minor of a female deity. In Hattian myth, although the Sun-god may be the titular head of the divine assembly, the prime mover seems always to be a goddess—Hannahanna or Inaras or some other. Early idols excavated in Anatolia confirm this conclusion. Any male figure associated with her seems to have an essentially subordinate position—the Sun-god and Weather-god, for instance, cannot find Telipinus, while she succeeds in doing so—and the reason is clear. She is one of the typical mother-goddess figures of the Eastern Mediterranean and Western Asia, and as the mother of all things she is the queen of all things. A male deity becomes her son, or, if he is her husband, assumes a subordinate position. She is Mother Earth, and all being and all fertility proceed from her.

This is the goddess with whom the Sun-goddess of Arinna is equated. The conclusion must be that she too is primarily a mother-goddess figure. She is the supreme deity of the Hittite pantheon: even the Weather-god of Heaven, the supreme male deity, is subordinate to her. She is easily equated with Hepat, the Hurrian goddess of similar nature. The use of TÚL as an ideogram for her city helps to confirm the idea that she is in some way connected with the earth and its waters. Why then is she called a

<sup>28</sup> *JCS.* 4 (1950), pp. 119–136.

<sup>29</sup> Otten, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

<sup>30</sup> A difficulty in this explanation is that here (obv. 3) Ereshkigal and Wurusemu seem to be expressly distinguished. The Sun-goddess of Arinna appears in the text as mother of the Weather-god of Nerik and in view of *KUB.* XXXVI, 90, 11 sqq., so obviously parallel to this passage, it can be assumed that Ereshkigal and the Sun-goddess of Arinna are here identical. But as shown above, each of these names refers to a Hattian earth-goddess, either equal or equivalent to Wurusemu. The answer to this problem must, I think, be that by the time of this text the original identity of the Sun-goddess of Arinna had been forgotten. She had by this time gained so many solar characteristics (Güterbock in *Fern: Forgotten Religions* (1949), p. 90) that although her name could still be represented by the ideogram EREŠ.KI.GAL, her identity with Wurusemu was no longer recognised. The Hittite priests of Nerik, finding in the present myth both Wurusemu and Ereshkigal (= the Sun-goddess of Arinna) failed to see that they were variants for the same goddess and in their offerings (this is the only place in the texts where the names are expressly distinguished) made sacrifice to both.

<sup>31</sup> Her very name may again be connected with Hattian *wur* “earth”.

sun-goddess? Perhaps this is, as Furlani suggests,<sup>32</sup> a purely honorific title. Alternatively, and more probably, it shows that she was one of a class of deities peculiar to Anatolia, a "Sun-goddess of the Earth",<sup>33</sup> whose concern was with the earth, the underworld and the dead. A Sun-goddess of this nature could easily pick up under Semitic influence the solar characteristics mentioned by Güterbock<sup>34</sup> and discussed by Gurney.<sup>35</sup>

The Hittite "Sun-goddess of Arinna" then was, in fact, that same chthonic mother-goddess figure who was, both before and after, supreme in Anatolia. Subordinate to her in Hattian times had been a number of water-gods, designated in the Hittite script by the "Weather-god" ideogram, whose concern was with fertility through underground waters. Further connections with these waters are many and obvious. In *IBoT*. II, 80 rs. 1-3, the Sun-goddess of the Earth and Halki have "holes": the divinity of rivers is amply attested: in *KUB*. XXVIII, 6 (cf. above), Wuru-*semu*, i.e. the Sun-goddess of Arinna, comes up out of a well after an operation involving blood: *KUB*. XV, 34, iii-iv,<sup>36</sup> is concerned with the attraction of gods from rivers and springs: and in *KBo*. II, 9, i, 14 sqq., Ishtar of Niniveh is called from the rivers and wells ("which", as Tenner<sup>37</sup> pointed out, "lead into the depths of the earth"). This suggests that in this instance at least Ishtar of Niniveh is confused with a local chthonic deity.

The suggestion of R. D. Barnett<sup>38</sup> that the existence of spring-sanctuaries in Phrygian times was the continuation of a practice common in the Hittite period has been accepted, in part at least, by Güterbock.<sup>39</sup> The proximity of water to many Hittite rock monuments is remarkable, and in some cases (e.g. at Mt. Sipylus<sup>40</sup> and at Eflâton Pınar<sup>41</sup>) it is clear that there must be some connection. This connection is now confirmed from the texts, and it can be seen that association of divinities with springs and sources reaches back into the pre-Hittite period, to a time of Hattian water-gods and mother-goddesses. The remarkable late Hittite rock-sculpture at Ivriz,<sup>42</sup> although outside the Hattian area proper, gives a good picture of such a deity. He is a "Weather-god", in this area called Tarhuis (𐎲𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎠), but his attributes are those not of a thunder-deity but of a god concerned with fertilising waters and the fruits of the earth—a bunch of grapes and a sheaf of corn. He is in fact a Telipinus-like figure—"That son of mine is mighty: he harrows, ploughs, irrigates the field and makes the crops grow"<sup>43</sup>—of a type which was common in ancient Anatolia.

<sup>32</sup> *RH.*, p. 29: cf. Delaporte in *Histoire Generale des Religions* I, p. 352.

<sup>33</sup> cf. note 8.

<sup>34</sup> In Ferm: *Forgotten Religions*, p. 90.

<sup>35</sup> *LAAA*. XXVII (1940), pp. 9 sqq. Furlani, *RH.*, p. 31.

<sup>36</sup> Zuntz: *Un Testo Ittito di Sconguri* (1937).

<sup>37</sup> *ZA*. NF. 4, p. 189.

<sup>38</sup> *Bibl. Or.* X (1953), p. 81.

<sup>39</sup> *AS*. VI, pp. 53-4.

<sup>40</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> References *ibid.*, p. 54, n. 3.

<sup>42</sup> *ibid.* p. 54, n. 4.

<sup>43</sup> *VBoT* 58, i, 29-30.

It is evident that Lelwani of the treaty-lists<sup>44</sup> is an underground goddess of some sort. But as Otten shows, there are in reality two deities called Lelwanis. The one, equated with Allatum and Ereshkigal, is an underground goddess, and may have been introduced to Anatolia by Hurrian influence<sup>45</sup>; the other is Hattian, and male. In Bo. 868<sup>46</sup> he is addressed as "Lord", and in the bi-lingual 1700c +<sup>47</sup> he is *Dle-e-lu-ua-ni ka-a-at-te*, translated *Dle-e-el-ua-ni-ša* LUGAL-*uš* "the King". Two texts show us much of his nature. In the Annals of Mursilis<sup>48</sup> it is related that the king came to Hattusas to celebrate the *puruli*-festival of Lelwani. This festival was concerned with the earth (Hattian *fur*) and was probably a New Year ceremony. We have in the Illuyankas-myth the actual text of the *puruli*-festival at Nerik. In this the Weather-god plays a leading part, and probably this is the part played by Lelwani in the festival at Hattusas. His function as a Hattian "weather-god" is confirmed by the text Bo. 7615, 2 sqq.,<sup>49</sup> which is part of the Telipinus-myth with Lelwani substituted for Telipinus. If Telipinus is a Hattian "weather-god", then the same must be true of the Hattian Lelwani. He is presumably, like the rather shadowy Taru, a "Weather-god of Hatti".

But he is not "the Weather-god of Hatti", also called the "Weather-god of Heaven", of the Imperial period. This god is no secondary deity, no minor spirit of the springs subordinate to a mother-goddess. He is almost (but not quite) equal in rank to her, and is her husband in the official theology. He is the god of Imperial and later art, the god of the mountain-tops, the wielder of thunder and lightning, a true weather-god of completely different type from these Hattian deities who are concealed behind the same ideogram.

For this boisterous and masterful god there can, I think, be only one explanation. He is an Indo-European weather-god, the swashbuckling deity of the conquering aristocratic Hittites who descended on the Hattians at the beginning of the second millennium.<sup>50</sup> Attempts to discover his Hittite name have met with little success. The least improbable suggestion is that *DIM-un-na-aš* (XX, 43, 4) conceals *dZašḫapunaš*, but Gaster<sup>51</sup> has collected arguments against this, the most important being that the ideogram should conceal the Hittite rather than the Hattian name of the god. The theory that the ideogram represents the Hurrian name Hummuna<sup>52</sup> is

<sup>44</sup> Otten, op. cit. passim.

<sup>45</sup> Op. cit. p. 135.

<sup>46</sup> Op. cit. p. 127.

<sup>47</sup> Op. cit. pp. 128-9.

<sup>48</sup> *KBo.* II, 5, iii, 13 sqq. Götze, *AM.* pp. 188 sqq.

<sup>49</sup> Otten, op. cit. pp. 130-1.

<sup>50</sup> This, of course, cannot be absolutely certain. The Weather-god of Heaven appears already in the Anittas text, which is generally taken to be pre-Indo-European. But this may be a different Hattian weather-god. My argument is not that the pre-Hittites had no Weather-god of Heaven, but that the Weather-god of Heaven was in the Hittite period a god whose qualities and attributes were remarkably Indo-European, and uncharacteristic of what is known of the earlier religion.

<sup>51</sup> Gaster: *Thespis*, pp. 334-5.

<sup>52</sup> Laroche, p. 109, etc.

open to a similar objection.<sup>53</sup> It might be suggested, since the Hittite word for "god", *šiu-naš*, is derived from Indo-European *\*dieu-s*,<sup>54</sup> from which are derived also the Greek Zeus, the Latin Jupiter, the Sanscrit Dyaus, the Germanic Tiu, etc., that *ḪIM-un-na-aš* in fact conceals *šiu-naš*, the Indo-European name for the Indo-European god.<sup>55</sup>

At their invasion then the Indo-Europeans brought with them their Zeus. They found in Anatolia, as they did in Greece, a goddess heading the native pantheon. Rather than depose her, the conquerors followed the usual polytheistic principle of "cuius regio, eius religio" and married their god to the native goddess. In Greece, Hera had for the most part to be content with a secondary place; in Anatolia the influence of the mother-goddess was so great that she gradually gained authority over her Indo-European husband, and by the time of the Empire was head of the pantheon once more.

Such then is the picture revealed by early Anatolian mythology. It shows a dominant mother-goddess with subordinate male deities, considered as representing the fertilising power of underground water. What is the connection between these deities and the mother-goddess? In the later Hittite theology the Weather-god of Nerik was the son of the great goddess, while the Weather-god of Hatti was her husband. But it may be inferred from comparable Near Eastern mythological situations where a mother-goddess has supreme authority that in Hattian times the fertilising male deity associated with her represented every aspect of this fertilising power, sometimes as lover, sometimes as husband, sometimes as child. Only when the pantheon was standardised by the Hittite theologians, and their own weather-god established as husband of the goddess, were these aspects of the deity fully separated.

### *Labarnas*

It is only natural that in seeking to understand the cosmos as they see it, men should conceive of the divine order as being but a greater instance of the order which prevails among them on earth. "The structure of the universe," as Thorkild Jacobsen has said of Mesopotamia,<sup>56</sup> "would stand out clearly as the structure of a state". The same is true of Anatolia, and that state structure would naturally be the one which worshippers knew best—that of the state in which they lived. Hierarchical arrangements among the gods are but reflections of those prevailing among the peoples who create them, and it must now be asked if any relic of the Hattian structure, as revealed on a divine plane by Hattian mythology, can be found surviving in the state structure of the Hittite period.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Güterbock: *Kum.*, p. 96, n. 22.

<sup>54</sup> Friedrich, *HW.* sub voc. Pedersen, *Hitt.*, § 51.

<sup>55</sup> The fact that the word for god is spelt *siunis* or *siunas*, but never *siunnas*, need not invalidate this suggestion, as neither the name nor the word is spelled out often enough to make its correct spelling more than speculative.

<sup>56</sup> *Before Philosophy*, p. 148.

<sup>57</sup> It may also be asked if any material relic of Hattian spring-cult remains. The Hittite spring-sanctuaries of Eflâtun Pinar and Mt. Sipylus have already (p. 178) been

Such survivals can, I think, be found in the position, functions and titles of the Hittite king and more especially of the queen. The position of queen among the Hittites is unusual both for the important part she played in matters of cult and state, and for the fact, so often commented upon,<sup>58</sup> that she continued to reign after the death of her husband. Not until after her death could the new king's wife assume the style of "queen". Of these facts there can be only one explanation. The queen must originally have reigned in her own right. Her queenship merely as consort of the reigning king must be a secondary development. Götze has long ago suggested<sup>59</sup> that this may be a relic of matriarchy. The connection, if there is one, is rather remote, but the facts can be explained only by an assumption that an earlier system of matrilineal succession had prevailed.<sup>60</sup> That such was, in fact, the case in parts of Anatolia is shown by Herodotus's remark on the Lycians,<sup>61</sup> and by the numerous references in Greek literature and mythology to princes who went abroad and succeeded to thrones by marrying the reigning monarch's daughter.<sup>62</sup> Thus it is easy to explain the anxiety felt by Hattusilis III at the banishment of an earlier queen.<sup>63</sup> She was in origin the true ruler of the land, the true representative of the mother-goddess. No wonder the pious Hattusilis felt nervous when approaching that mother-goddess in prayer!

It is important here to examine the names *Tabarnas* and *Tawanannas*. These names, allegedly those of the founder of the Hittite line and his wife, were borne by all living kings and queens as a quasi-title, and it is thought that each monarch was regarded as a re-incarnation of the early king or

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mentioned, but of Hattian cult-shrines very little is known. The most important archaeological documents for pre-Hittite religion are the graves at Alaca Hüyük, with their famous standards. These are commonly regarded, with complete lack of evidence and probability, as sun-symbols, because their general shape is round. The fact that the circle can enclose a bull or stag is obviously of much greater importance. The former animal is well known from the Imperial sculptures at Alaca as a symbol for the Weather-god, and if its occurrence also in the pre-Hittite layers indicates that in this period too it is the Weather-god's animal, then we may assume that it is the pre-Hittite "Weather-god", i.e. the god of underground waters and vital creativity, who is represented by the bull-standards at Alaca. Bulls are a common river- or water-symbol (it is, for instance, in the form of a bull or bull-headed man that Greek rivers often appear) and if this is the case, it is at least possible that the bull enclosed by the circle symbolises the god emerging from his natural habitat, i.e. a *hatteššar* or spring. Such symbols of life and vitality would be entirely appropriate in these elaborate graves, which indicate an obvious belief in the after-life.

C. A. Burney (*AS.* VIII, p. 218, and Pl. XXXIV) has recently published a rock relief, probably of the Early Iron Age, which depicts the well-known "god on the stag". This relief is in an inaccessible position "high up on a cliff overlooking the winding gorge of the Karasu", and in this is very similar to other Anatolian reliefs above and presumably connected with water. This connection between stags and water may link the stag-symbolism of the Alaca discs with the same religious conception as that which lies behind the bull-symbolism.

<sup>58</sup> E.g. Götze, *Kleinasien* (2nd ed.), p. 93; Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 66.

<sup>59</sup> *Kleinasien* (1st ed.), p. 87.

<sup>60</sup> For abundant evidence of this type of succession see Frazer, *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, especially Lecture VIII.

<sup>61</sup> Herodotus I, 173.

<sup>62</sup> E.g. Bellerophon (Homer, *Iliad* VI, 144-195).

<sup>63</sup> *KUB.* XIV 7 + XXI 19.

queen. That *Tabarnas* (*Labarnas*) was a name rather than a title has been argued at length by Sommer.<sup>64</sup> His main point is that in a document of such importance, which was aimed at influencing men even after the death of its author, it would be ridiculous for that author to omit to give his proper name, and substitute "a mere title" ("ein blosser Titel": p. 21). The error in this is that *Tabarnas* is not a "mere" title: it is, as I hope to show, the fundamental title by virtue of which he held kingly power. Later kings headed their edicts with the title "*tabarna*" because it was the title which legitimised their position as king. In a document such as that of Hattusilis I, which was so concerned with the kingly position, it was specially important to stress this title and this legitimacy.

The word *T/Labarna*<sup>65</sup> is used (a) of an early king, of his son before he assumed the name of Hattusilis, and of his son who was to succeed him, but was replaced by Mursilis; (b) of kings in general during their lifetime, especially in matters of ritual. In this field it is regularly linked with the queen's title of *tawanannas*,<sup>66</sup> and the two seem to be so linked from the earliest times. The names occur, as pointed out by Laroche,<sup>67</sup> in Hittite, Palaic and Hattian texts, and so it seems certain that they are Hattian or translations from the Hattian.<sup>68</sup> Thus it is very unlikely that the words were originally proper names: much more probably they were Hattian titles which came to be used by kings and queens in their official capacity. "*Labarnas*" no more indicates a particular king than would, say, "Pharaoh" or "Minos".

Attempts to find an etymology for *tabarna* have generally linked it with Luwian *tapar-* "to rule".<sup>69</sup> This does not, however, explain the *-na* as the ending of a *nomen agentis*.<sup>70</sup> The only other word which may be compared is *taparnandan*, which is equated<sup>71</sup> with Sumerian NITA. This too causes difficulties. Sommer himself could not decide whether the word is related to an entirely different, true Hittite word-group, or whether a further formation from the borrowed Hattian *tabarna* takes place, and the latter is in fact to be taken as in part an appellative ("= Mann??"). Thus he serves to destroy his own case for the origin of *tabarna* as a proper name, and also gives a clue to the real meaning of the title. Since a *taparnandan* UDU is certainly not a "ruler-sheep", then a person called *tabarna* must have some function corresponding to Sumerian NITA—he must be a "male", a "man". He holds his position simply because he is the "man" or "husband" of the queen.<sup>72</sup> The predominance of the Great Goddess in mythology is only a reflection of the original situation on earth.

<sup>64</sup> *HAB.* 20–29.

<sup>65</sup> For T/L variation cf. Sommer, pp. 21–26.

<sup>66</sup> So in XXXVI 89, etc.

<sup>67</sup> *Ugaritica* III (1956), pp. 100–101.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Sommer, *HuH.* 92. If this is true of *tabarna* it is presumably true also of the closely linked *tawananna*.

<sup>69</sup> E.g. Sturtevant, *Chrestomathy* 172, 194 sqq.

<sup>70</sup> *HAB.*, 26 n. 2.

<sup>71</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> It can then be assumed that *tapar-* is a later verb-formation from *tabarna*, with meaning based on the ruling functions of the "husband".

Of course, the introduction of a warlike Indo-European aristocracy changed this. Just as in heaven the Indo-European weather-god rose almost to equality with the Sun-goddess of Arinna, so too on earth the Indo-European monarchs strove to legitimise their position and establish their succession, although it was not until the time of Telipinus that this was finally done. Before this monarch's decree there was a long period of internal strife, intrigue and murder. The document of Hattusilis has been taken <sup>73</sup> to show that at this time there was an elective monarchy, and we know that before this <sup>74</sup> the nobles had placed a usurper on the throne. This is all easily explicable when it is known that the "king" was simply the husband of the reigning queen. In a situation such as this, when power can be gained by marriage to royalty, a warlike aristocracy will always be internally divided, and factions will attempt to marry their own nominee to the queen and thus gain power for themselves. We need only compare the attempt—apparently successful—made by the Egyptian nobles after the death of Tutankhamen.<sup>75</sup> Not until the time of Telipinus was a Hittite king strong enough to suppress this tendency and establish the succession in his own family. But even after that the power and position of the queen were upheld, and the traditional kingly title of "tabarna" retained.

What then of King Labarnas, founder of the Hittite line? The main documentary evidence for him is in the Telipinus decree,<sup>76</sup> in the king-lists,<sup>77</sup> and in the Alaksandus-treaty.<sup>78</sup> Several Labarna-seals have been shown by Güterbock <sup>79</sup> to belong to various monarchs. Telipinus <sup>80</sup> tells of a remarkable series of conquests from sea to sea, and in the Alaksandus-treaty he is said <sup>81</sup> to have conquered Arzawa. This is vague enough. The king-lists, doubtful as they are as historical evidence, do mention a Labarnas <sup>82</sup> who may be identified with Hattusilis I. Text "C" obv. 20 has a name(?)—there is no determinative—beginning with *la-* which may be Labarnas, but in this case an otherwise unknown genealogy is mentioned (ll. 19–20) which seems to indicate <sup>83</sup> that Labarnas was not the first of his line. In fact the evidence for Labarnas as a historical person is very scanty indeed, and if we consider the widespread nature of his conquests, it is much more likely that Labarnas the founder of the Hittite line was a simple concretion of a series of early kings, all of whom bore the title of Labarnas. To the later Hittites, the king with whom their history really began was the Labarnas who had built their capital and assumed the name of Hattusilis. Any events from an earlier date were simply "in the days of Labarnas".

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 63.

<sup>74</sup> *HAB.* III, 41–45.

<sup>75</sup> Gurney, p. 31.

<sup>76</sup> Sturtevant, *Chrestomathy*, pp. 175–200.

<sup>77</sup> Otten, *MDOG.* 83, 47–71.

<sup>78</sup> Friedrich, *SV.*, pp 51–2.

<sup>79</sup> Güterbock, *SBo.* I, pp. 47–55.

<sup>80</sup> Sturtevant, *Chrestomathy*, pp. 182–3.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Note 78.

<sup>82</sup> Text "A", line 2; Text "B", line 4.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Forrer, *2BoTU.* VI–VII; Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 216, etc.



A difficulty is caused by the occurrence of "Young Labarnas" in the decree of Hattusilis I. Here again it is not difficult—in fact it is easier—to take the word as a very specialised title. In col. II, 2–3, "Young Labarnas I proclaimed to you" (*nu-uš-ma-aš TUR-la-an la-ba-ar-na-an te-nu-un*) is followed by the words of the proclamation, "Let that one sit (upon the throne)" (*a-pa-a-aš-ua-aš-ša-an e-ša-ru*). Col. III, 41–2, tells of a previous instance of a similar kind:

41.

*hu-uh-ḫa-aš-mi-iš*

42. [*la-ba-a*]r-na-an DUMU-ša-an URUŠa-na-ḫu-it-ti iš-ku-na-aḫ-ḫi-iš,  
translated by Sommer<sup>84</sup> "Mein Grossvater hatte seinen Sohn [Laba]rna in Šanaḫuitta als Thronfolger verkündet" and by Gurney<sup>85</sup> as "My grandfather had proclaimed his son Labarnas (as heir to the throne) in Sanahuitta". The meaning of the verb is uncertain,<sup>86</sup> but it must mean something like "proclaimed". It should, however, be noted that in neither of these instances is there apparently any word or phrase for "as heir to the throne". This must either be understood from the context, where in one case at least the verb is completely general and unspecialised (*tenun* = *aqbi* = I said), or be contained in the words TUR-la-an la-ba-ar-na-an and la-ba-ar-na-an DUMU-ša-an, "Young Labarnas" and "his son Labarnas". The Hittite for "young" and for "son" is in any case the same,<sup>87</sup> and this, together with the evidence for Labarnas as a definite title and the lack of precision in the verb *tenun*, makes it probable that "Young Labarnas" too was a title, that of "successor" or "heir to the throne", invented or adopted by the Indo-European monarchs in their attempts to stabilise the succession. It is perhaps equivalent to that of the so-called "Crown Prince"<sup>88</sup> who plays a large part in ritual. The passages may then be translated: "I said (i.e. nominated) the 'successor'," and "My grandfather had proclaimed his 'successor' in Sanahuitta".

"Young Labarnas" is mentioned also in II, 30–31: "Behold, I have given my son Labarnas a house!" In accordance with the above interpretation this should now be translated, "Behold, I have given a house to my successor". It must be assumed that this was still his title until the assembly had ratified the king's decision.

### *Tawanannas*

The queen's title, *tawanannas*, is also very ancient. In tradition, and in the royal offering lists, she is the wife of King Labarnas. It may be significant that in the lists her name is above that of her husband.<sup>89</sup> The word was translated "queen-mother" by Forrer<sup>90</sup> and Sommer,<sup>91</sup> and

<sup>84</sup> *HAB.*, pp. 13, 15.

<sup>85</sup> Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 172.

<sup>86</sup> *HAB.*, 164.

<sup>87</sup> *HAB.*, 32.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Laroche, *JCS.* I, 187 sqq.

<sup>89</sup> Text "B", 3–4.

<sup>90</sup> *Forschungen* 11, 1, p. 1.

<sup>91</sup> *AU.* 300.

Cavaignac proposed <sup>92</sup> an identification with SALAMA.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>. His argument, based on the texts *KUB.* XIV, 4 and *KBo.* IV, 8, is however invalidated by the recent discovery at Ras Shamra of a seal <sup>93</sup> which shows that *tawanannas* in these documents is in fact a proper name, which was assumed by a Babylonian princess on her marriage to Suppiluliumas. She was later banished by his son Mursilis, and it is to this banishment that the documents refer. But although it is impossible in these texts to equate *tawanannas* and SALAMA.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>, *KBo.* IV, 8 does reveal something of the queen's (or rather queen mother's) position. Mursilis is careful to stress how well he treated Tawanannas, depriving her neither of house, nor of servants, nor of food in plenty. "In this alone I punished her, that I banished her from the palace and (l. 15) removed her from the position of SALAMA.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>.<sup>94</sup>" In other words, the queen mother was deposed, but not otherwise punished. It is clear that the office of "mother of god" was vitally linked to the queenship of the Hittite Empire. It is in fact likely from the passage quoted above that this was the office by virtue of which she held the position of queen.

The pious Hattusilis III also mentions the banishment of Tawanannas in a prayer <sup>95</sup> in which he disclaims all responsibility for the act. Here Tawanannas is referred to as GEME-KU-NU <sup>96</sup> and GEME.-DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> <sup>97</sup>: "Your (pl.) servant" (obviously the servant of the gods) and "Servant of the god(dess) (i.e. the Sun-goddess of Arinna). Again a close connection is implied between the mother-goddess and the Hittite queen. Similarly the ritual text XXV 14 deals with sacrifices by the queen to the Sun-goddess of Arinna of each of her predecessors. Here the connection must, as Dr. Gurney points out,<sup>98</sup> be very close indeed. A later passage in the prayer of Hattusilis <sup>99</sup> might seem to count against the equation of *tawanannas* with SALAMA.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>. As reconstructed by Güterbock <sup>100</sup> the lines read:—

16. *ma-a-an-ma-kán ú-it ŠA É.LUGAL DI-NU ŠA ʿDa-n[u-ḫe-pa Ū*

17. *ŠA SALAMA.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> -KA ki-ša-at*

which he translates "Als es aber geschah, dass im Palast der Prozess der Dan[uhepa und] Deiner 'Gottesmutter' entstand", with a note that he inserts Ū because Sommer has shown <sup>101</sup> that there are in Hittite no examples of repetition of ŠA or ANA in cases of apposition. In this case, therefore, the queen Danuhepa and the SALAMA.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> must be different people. But Güterbock himself in his footnote provides an

<sup>92</sup> *RHA.* 11, pp. 98–9.

<sup>93</sup> *Ugaritica* III (1956), 1–8, 98–103 and Pl. I.

<sup>94</sup> *KBo.* IV, 8, ii, 13–15. For translation cf. Cavaignac, *RHA.* 12, pp. 157–8, n. 12.

<sup>95</sup> XIV 7 + XXI 19.

<sup>96</sup> XXI 19, i, 21.

<sup>97</sup> XXI 19, i, 23.

<sup>98</sup> Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 141, and *ap.* S. H. Hooke (ed.), *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, pp. 120–121.

<sup>99</sup> XIV 7, i, 16 sqq.

<sup>100</sup> *SBo* I, p. 13.

<sup>101</sup> *AU.*, p. 130.

example<sup>102</sup> where there is such a use of ŠA in an apposition, which can only be otherwise explained by an unnatural interpretation of a stock introduction. In view of this example it is at least possible that Sommer's rule is not without exception, and it is thus extremely dangerous to build an interpretation on the insertion of a word which need not be there. But there are I think other indications in the passage that the queen herself is intended. Although it is possible that "Your (i.e. the Sun-goddess of Arinna's) SALAMA.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>" may as Güterbock suggests be one of the priestesses known by that title, the close connection between the queen and the Sun-goddess (see above) suggests that it was primarily she who was the Sun-goddess's "mother of god", while the other "mothers of god" were priestesses of other deities, or minor priestesses under the queen. Again, Güterbock has great difficulty in explaining col. II, l. 13, *nu-za a-pa-a-aš-ša DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-iš ka-ru-ú ki-ša-at*, in a context where it is natural that *apaš* should refer to Danuhepa. There are no examples, he says, of Hittite queens "becoming a god" when they die; the phrase cannot refer to the queen. The villain of the story (der Schuldige, p. 14) must be some third party (neither the queen nor the "mother of god") who is apparently not even mentioned, although if he "became a god" he was presumably a king. The fabric of this reconstruction is very insubstantial indeed. In view of the evidence for the original sacral position of the queen, it is much more reasonable to suppose that she did, like her husband, "become a god" on death. For this assumption there is no definite parallel in the texts, but it might be suggested that the Sun-goddesses of Arinna of dead queens,<sup>103</sup> to whom the living queen made offerings, were in fact the queens themselves,<sup>104</sup> deified after death as mother-goddess figures.

That *tawanannas* is the title of the queen rather than the queen-mother<sup>105</sup> is shown by its constant use in ritual passages in association with *labarnas*, a use which, as pointed out above,<sup>106</sup> is found in Hittite, Palaic and Hattian texts, and is therefore likely to be Hattian in origin. In documents of the Old Kingdom and Imperial periods, just as early kings were grouped under the title "Labarnas", so early queens were grouped under a vague general ancestress called "Tawanannas". Much later a Babylonian princess, brought from abroad by Suppiluliumas to be queen of the Hittite realms, was given the ancestral title as a quasi-name. Other queens retained their own names, while using the ritual title of *tawanannas*.

If *labarnas* is Hattian in origin, the same is presumably true of *tawanannas*. Yet the word has a curiously un-Hattian appearance. The ending *-annas* must be the Hittite word for "mother", and this, together with the evidence mentioned above for the close connection between queenship and the office of SALAMA.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>, at once makes it likely that Cavaignac's

<sup>102</sup> KBo. VI, 28, obv. 4.

<sup>103</sup> XXV 14: see above, p. 185.

<sup>104</sup> So already Goetze, *Kleinasien* (2nd ed.), p. 95.

<sup>105</sup> Although the queen was still *tawanannas* after the death of her husband.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. n. 67.

equation may after all be correct. *Annas* and *attas* as words for "mother" and "father" are not distinctively Indo-European. They are of widespread use in Europe and the Near East, and are presumably derived from childish prattle.<sup>107</sup> As such they might well be found also in Hattian. If the Hittite queen is not "mother of god" she is at least "mother" of something. What then of *tawan*? Cavaignac suggested that this word meant "god" in Hattian, but it has now been shown<sup>108</sup> that there is at least one other Hattian word (*(a)šhap*) for "god", which makes the equation less likely, though by no means impossible. A second difficulty is that there is another equivalent for *SALAMA.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>*, *šīuanzanniš*, which has been shown by Ehelolf<sup>109</sup> to be Luwian in form. Is *tawanannas* then the Hattian for *šīuanzanniš*? When the words are thus placed together, a much more plausible solution presents itself. *Tawanannas* is not Hattian, but a dialect variant of *šīuanzanniš*,<sup>110</sup> and the variation can I think be explained by Hattian influence. Laroche<sup>111</sup> has given abundant evidence for interchange of *-a-* and *-i-*, and variations between *s*, *t* and *z* have been illustrated above.<sup>112</sup> The *-z-* is Luwian.<sup>113</sup> The existence of *šīuanzanniš* confirms rather than contradicts Cavaignac's suggestion.

At first this solution seems to cause more difficulties than it resolves. First, and most important, if *tawanannas* = *šīuanzanniš*, the word must be Indo-European, and it is highly probable that the title is Hattian. Secondly, why should there be two Indo-European words, one used exclusively of queens and the other of priestesses? One can only suppose that at least two waves of Indo-European invasion took place, of which the earlier<sup>114</sup> (the "Hittites"?) gained sufficient local control to seize the kingship of some petty state by marriage with the local queen,<sup>115</sup> whose title they translated into their own language. Their numbers must have been small, and

<sup>107</sup> Friedrich, *HW.* sub voc.

<sup>108</sup> Laroche, *RA.* 41, p. 78.

<sup>109</sup> *ZA.* NF. 2, p. 318.

<sup>110</sup> I am indebted to Dr. O. R. Gurney for this valuable suggestion.

<sup>111</sup> Laroche, *RHA.* 46, p. 41, *JCS.* I, p. 201.

<sup>112</sup> p. 176 and notes 19–21, 23–25.

<sup>113</sup> Ehelolf, *ZA.* NF. 2, p. 318.

<sup>114</sup> It must be understood that the terms "earlier" and "later" refer only to arrivals in the Hittite homeland area (roughly that inside the Halys bend), and *not* to invasions of Anatolia itself, where Mellaart has clearly shown that the Luwians were first to arrive (*AJA.* 62 (1958), pp. 9–33).

<sup>115</sup> A sidelight on the way in which the Hittite king took over the functions which were originally those of the queen can be observed in the passage of the Apology of Hattusilis (IV 14–15) where it is revealed to Queen Puduhepa in a dream by Ishtar of Samuha that "I will make your husband priest of the Sun-goddess of Arinna". From the context this statement obviously means that she will make Hattusilis king. In other words, this office was an essential part of the kingship. From the evidence detailed above, it is likely that this was the office originally held by the queen of Hatti. After her marriage to the conquering invader (a marriage represented among the gods by the wedding of the Sun-goddess of Arinna to the Weather-god of Heaven), this office, by virtue of which she ruled Hatti, was transferred to the king. But the tradition of the queen as priestess—or possibly, to judge from her name, as incarnation of deity on earth (is *SALAMA.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>*, despite the Accadian genitive ending, to be translated "mother-goddess", rather than "mother of god"?)—lingered on in her title of *tawanannas*.

their language had little effect on the natives, for *tawanannas*, though Indo-European, is fully subject to the vagaries of Hattian phonetics. Later (Luwian?) invasions established other petty princelings in power, and as their cities came under the control of the "Hittites" the local queen-priestesses, called *šiuanzanniš* under Luwian influence, gradually lost their queenly power while retaining their positions as "mothers of god", subordinate of course to the great "mother of god", the queen of Hattusas herself.

This historical reconstruction is a tentative attempt to explain why the title of the Hittite queen should be an Indo-European word heavily influenced by Hattian. Other explanations may of course be possible, but one basic point remains. To be influenced by Hattian phonetics, the word *tawanannas* must have been introduced into Anatolia when Hattian was still a living language, and before the full weight of the Indo-European invasion had driven it finally out of use. *Tawanannas* is a linguistic relic of the earliest Indo-European incursions into central Anatolia, which took place not long after the beginning of the second millennium.<sup>116</sup> It is in fact one of the earliest Indo-European words of which we have a record.

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<sup>116</sup> J. Mellaart in *AJA.* 62 (1958), p. 14, convincingly places the arrival of the Hittites at the end of the Kültepe II period c. 1900 B.C.

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# GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY IN WESTERN ASIA MINOR IN THE SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C.

By J. G. MACQUEEN

ANY EXAMINATION OF the geography of western Asia Minor in the second millennium B.C.<sup>1</sup> must begin with the accounts of two campaigns—(a) that of Mursilis II against Arzawa,<sup>2</sup> and (b) that of a Hittite king (probably also Mursilis, but perhaps Muwatallis), against the Lukka-lands and Millawanda.<sup>3</sup> In each case the route followed by the Hittite army is given:

(a) Hattusas	(b) Hattusas
Sallapa	Sallapa
Aura	Waliwanda
Walma	Iyalanda
R. Astarpa	Aba . . .
country of Arzawa	Attarimma      Millawanda
Apasas	

Two things are clear from these accounts. First, the campaigns start off in the same general direction, as they both pass through Sallapa. Secondly, after Sallapa they diverge. There are no names beyond Sallapa common to the two, and there is no suggestion that all the later names in each list must be closely grouped in neighbouring areas reached by a common long march from Hattusas. But it is worthwhile, I think, to try to establish more closely the relationship between the two routes, and to build up a pattern in the hope that it can be applied to existing geographical and archaeological considerations.

Let us look at the Apasas-route first. In the treaty which Mursilis later drew up with Kupanta-Inaras of Mira-Kuwaliya,<sup>4</sup> the River Astarpa is said to be the boundary of Kuwaliya,<sup>5</sup> and Kupanta-Inaras is forbidden to cross over to Aura.<sup>6</sup> So by the end of this campaign Hittite territory reached as far as the River Astarpa. But before the campaign Mashuiluwas, as we see from the treaty-preamble,<sup>7</sup> had been driven from his country by his brothers, who were in league with Arzawa, and so Mursilis could talk of "crossing over into the country of Arzawa" when he crossed the River Astarpa. Thus before the campaign the river was the boundary of Arzawa, and after it it was the boundary of Mira-Kuwaliya. Diagrammatically then the march could be represented as in Fig. 1.

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to express here my indebtedness to all the works which have been written on Hittite geography. But I must acknowledge the help which I have received from "The Geography of the Hittite Empire" by John Garstang and O. R. Gurney (referred to as G.G.) an invaluable collection of source-material as well as a bold reconstruction of the map of second-millennium Anatolia. I have also to thank Prof. Gurney and Mr. James Mellaart for their help in discussing the evidence and for assistance with references. They must not, of course, be held responsible for the conclusions which I have drawn from it.

<sup>2</sup> Annals of Mursilis II, years 3-4. Text in Götze, *Die Annalen des Muršiliš*, *M.V.A.G.* 38 (1933), (referred to as *A.M.*)

<sup>3</sup> Tawagalawas Letter, *K.U.B.* XIV, 3. Sommer, *Die Ahhijawā-Urkunden* (1932) (referred to as *A.U.*), ch. I. Partial translation in G.G. 111 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Friedrich, *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in Hethitischer Sprache* (referred to as *Verträge*) 1 (1926). Partial translation in G.G. 89-90.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, sect. 9.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*, sect. 2.

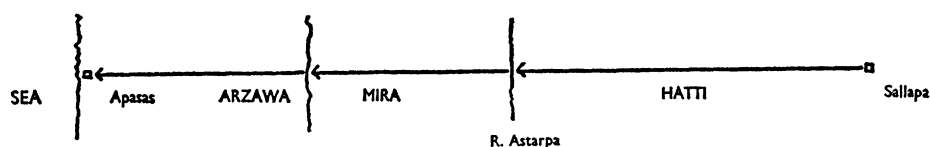


FIG. 1.

To turn now to the other route, the primary object of the king's march was to support the Lukka-men of Attarimma.<sup>8</sup> Iyalanda too seems to have been in the Lukka-lands, as it is attacked by the same enemies as Attarimma.<sup>9</sup> Waliwanda may, but need not, be in the Lukka-lands, and Aba . . . is presumably in or near the Lukka-lands as well. Millawanda is close to the Lukka-lands but presumably beyond them, as it is not at this time subject to Hittite control. Again, a diagram might be :

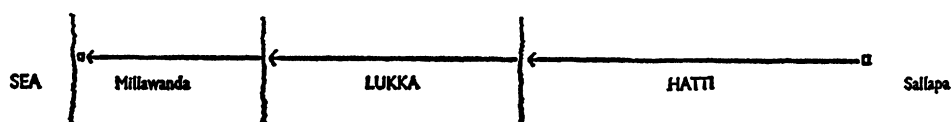


FIG. 2.

Are there any common factors by which the two routes can be linked? There is, first of all, the sea. Both Apasas and Millawanda are on the coast.<sup>10</sup> Then again there is the matter of the "men of Attarimma", one of the immediate causes of Mursilis's attack on Arzawa. The men of Attarimma fled to Arzawa, and the Arzawan king refused to give them up.<sup>11</sup> He had also incited the men of Millawanda to rebel.<sup>12</sup> All this presumably means that the frontiers of Arzawa, or an Arzawan dependency, and of the Lukka-lands were fairly close to each other at the time. (We cannot be sure that they actually touched. Despite considerable accuracy in the delineation of frontiers, it is unlikely that there was anything in the nature of effective policing, and it would be quite possible for considerable numbers of men to pass through enemy territory by keeping to the hills, away from settled villages and main routes.) Our diagram now becomes either:

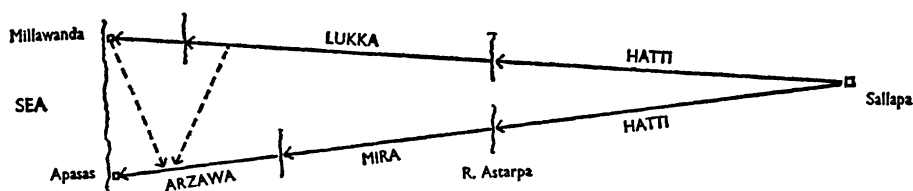


FIG. 3.

or :

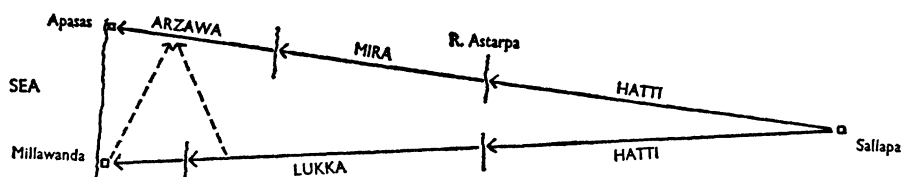


FIG. 4.

(It is at this stage impossible to say which way up it should be.)

<sup>8</sup> *A.U.* 1, 1 sqq.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.* 1, 16 sqq.

<sup>10</sup> Apasas G.G. 88; Millawanda G.G. 80 and especially note 3.

<sup>11</sup> *A.M.* 39.

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.* p. 36.



The final areas then are not particularly far apart. Are there any other connexions? Perhaps we may find some through the Seha-River-land. Manapa-Dattas, king of this land, supported Arzawa against Mursilis,<sup>13</sup> but was spared and installed as a vassal on condition that he handed over escaped prisoners from Mira, Hatti and Arzawa.<sup>14</sup> Again this need not mean contiguous boundaries with all three, but it does give us a good idea of the direction in which the Seha-River-land is to be sought. It may also be noted that when Mursilis was returning from his Arzawan campaign emissaries from the Seha-River-land met him at Aura,<sup>15</sup> a town which, as we have already seen, was over the Hittite border from Mira. Again a position in the general neighbourhood of Mira and Arzawa is indicated. On the other hand the fragmentary letter *K.U.B. XIX 5*<sup>16</sup> tells of the later humiliation of Manapa-Dattas by Piyamaradus of Millawanda, who has appointed Atpas as his overlord. This suggests a fairly close connexion with the sea and Millawanda, and so with the other route.<sup>17</sup> Alaksandus of Wilusa is told to keep an eye on the Seha-River-land and Arzawa,<sup>18</sup> and Tudhaliyas (IV) attacked Arzawa, the Seha-River-land and Wallarimma.<sup>19</sup> The latter is a town in the Lukka-lands.<sup>20</sup> All in all, the most likely position for the Seha-River-land is *between* the two routes.

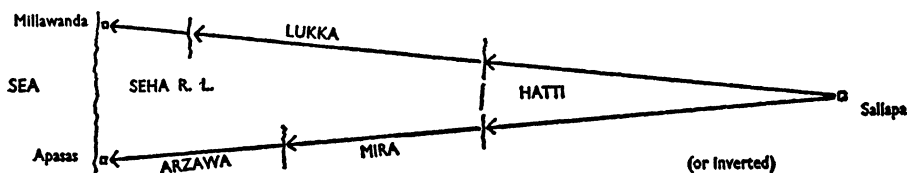


FIG. 5.

This, it seems, makes geographical and historical sense. At the beginning of Mursilis's reign Lukka-men could flee to Arzawa by passing through the Seha-River-land, which was at that time, thanks to the defection of Manapa-Dattas, on the side of Arzawa.

It is interesting to note that in the historical portion of the Manapa-Dattas treaty his country is referred to simply as the Seha-River-land.<sup>21</sup> But as a result of his reaffirmation of loyalty to the Hittite king Manapa-Dattas is given the Seha-River-land *and* the land of Appawiya.<sup>22</sup> Now the contact of the Seha-River-land with Millawanda reminds us of the broken name Aba . . . ,<sup>23</sup> where the Hittite king rested before going on to Millawanda. This name was restored as Abawiya by Sommer,<sup>24</sup> and if our pattern is correct this seems a very likely restoration. It would

<sup>13</sup> Treaty with Mursilis; Friedrich, *Verträge* II (1930). Partial translation in G.G. 93-4.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.* §4. In §5 Manapa-Dattas is told not to covet a frontier-place of Hatti. This need not mean that the Seha-River-land bordered on the land of Hatti in its strictest sense, but merely that it bordered on a dependency of the land of Hatti (e.g. the Lukka-lands). Cf. page 169 above, where the dependent land of Mira is regarded as part of Arzawa.

<sup>15</sup> *A.M.* 75.

<sup>16</sup> Translated G.G. 95.

<sup>17</sup> It also suggests a connexion with the sea. See G.G. 96.

<sup>18</sup> Treaty of Muwatallis with Alaksandus (*Verträge* II) §11. Partial translation in G.G. 102-3.

<sup>19</sup> Among other countries. *K.U.B. XXIII*, 11-12, lines 3-8. Translation G.G. 121.

<sup>20</sup> See G.G. 79.

<sup>21</sup> §§1-4.

<sup>22</sup> §§5 sqq.

<sup>23</sup> See above p. 169 and note 3.

<sup>24</sup> *A.U.* 4 and 74.

be natural for the Hittite King to retire after a hard fight to rest in friendly Appawiya. Our pattern then becomes:

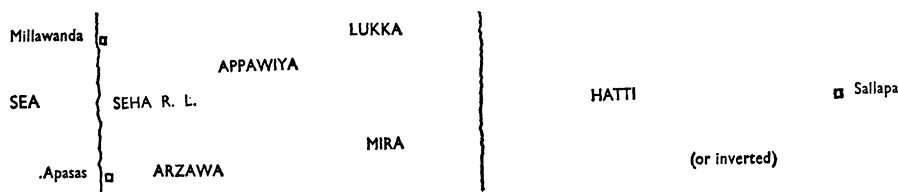


FIG. 6.

Perhaps it may now be possible to fit the kingdom of Wilusa into the pattern. This country, as Garstang and Gurney point out,<sup>25</sup> was unwaveringly loyal to the Hittites, and this suggests a position on the edge of the Arzawan sphere of influence and very probably<sup>26</sup> a common border with Hittite territory. In Section 14 of the treaty Karkisa, Masa, Lukka and Warsiyalla are specified as being "in your direction",<sup>27</sup> and despite G. G.<sup>28</sup> this certainly means exactly what it says. Of Karkisa, Masa and Warsiyalla<sup>29</sup> more will be said later, but Lukka is already in our pattern. The king of Wilusa is also<sup>30</sup> in a position in which he may *hear about* rebellion in the Seha-River-land and Arzawa, but perhaps the phrase suggests that his country is rather further from them than from the Lukka-lands. In Sect. 17 Alaksandus is asked to protect the king of Mira. Again this implies a fairly close contact. Wilusa appears neither on the route to Apasas nor on that to Millawanda, but this need not be too important in fixing its position. Either route (or both of them) may have made a detour to avoid Wilusa, and indeed the Hittite king may on either occasion have been allowed to march through friendly territory. All in all the most likely position for Wilusa seems to be as follows:

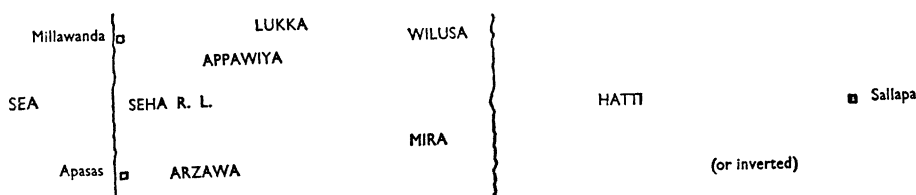


FIG. 7.

What of the kingdom of Hapalla? Unfortunately the geographical part of Mursilis's treaty with this country<sup>31</sup> is missing, but there are a few pointers. The association with the Lukka-lands in the Tudhaliyas Annals<sup>32</sup> is valueless owing to the broken state of the text, and in fact the Madduwattas-text<sup>33</sup> suggests the exact opposite. Madduwattas is conducting a campaign on two fronts, and keeps his conquests in the Lukka-lands while yielding Hapalla to the Hittite king and admitting that it is legally his. As Madduwattas started operations from the Land of the River Siyanti (= Mira-Kuwaliya?), a position somewhere nearer the Hatti-lands is

<sup>25</sup> G. G. 101.

<sup>26</sup> G. G. 103.

<sup>27</sup> Alaksandus-treaty, §14; G. G. 102.

<sup>28</sup> G. G. 104.

<sup>29</sup> Karkisa and Masa pp. 173-4; Warsiyalla p. 178.

<sup>30</sup> Alaksandus-treaty §11.

<sup>31</sup> *Verträge*, I, 51 sqq.

<sup>32</sup> *K. U. B.* XXIII, 11-12, line 6; G. G. 121.

<sup>33</sup> *K. U. B.* XIV, 1. Götzke, *Madduwattas* (*MVAG* 32 [1927]). For Hapalla see pp. 24 sqq. (Rs. 21 sqq.)

indicated. This is confirmed by other references, which also help us to establish which way up our pattern should be. Hapalla is "smitten" from the Lower Land.<sup>34</sup> Again, after Madduwattas annexes Hapalla he stirs up revolt in Pitassa and the Hittite king musters his forces against him in Sallapa.<sup>35</sup> Sallapa is in our pattern already, and Pitassa is generally believed<sup>36</sup> to be somewhere west or south-west of the Salt Lake.

So the indications are that Hapalla lies between Mira (L. of R. Siyanti) and the Hatti-land, and more specifically that part of the Hatti-land which consists of Pitassa and the Lower Land. Sallapa is also a possible base for action against it. So it is now possible to choose which way up our pattern should be:

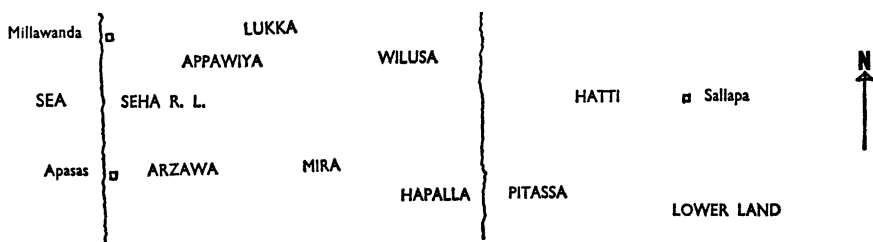


FIG. 8.

This arrangement can, I think, be confirmed by a further examination of other western states. Masa and Karkisa, for instance, have already been mentioned<sup>37</sup> as being "in the direction" of Wilusa, and this suggests an area somewhere near Wilusa and the Lukka-lands. Manapa-Dattas of the Seha-River-land took refuge in Karkisa,<sup>38</sup> but this does not necessarily imply that the countries had a common boundary. The fact that Masa and Karkisa are suggested as neutral countries for Piyamaradus<sup>39</sup> might indicate a position reasonably far from both the Hatti-land and Millawanda, but this gives no precision at all. The king of Mira on one occasion fled to Masa,<sup>40</sup> but this again suggests friendship rather than the strict contiguity of the two countries. The "Fremdländer-Liste"<sup>41</sup> places Masa between Arzawa and Iyalanta in the Lukka-lands,<sup>42</sup> and it is placed between Arzawa and Lukka in *KBo.* XI 40, vi, 14-23.<sup>43</sup> The obvious place for Masa and Karkisa is more or less in the centre of our diagram, thus:

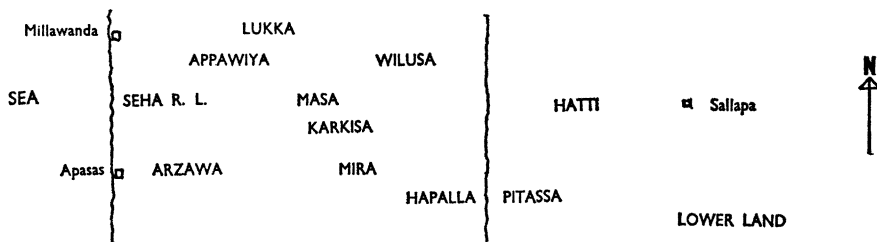


FIG. 9.

<sup>34</sup> *K.U.B.* XIX, 22. G.G. 83 and 99.

<sup>35</sup> Götze, *Madduwattas* 38.

<sup>36</sup> E.g. G.G. 74, Götze, *Kleinasien* 2 (1957), map.

<sup>37</sup> P. 172 above.

<sup>38</sup> Manapa-Dattas treaty, §1.

<sup>39</sup> Tawagalawas-letter IV, 6.

<sup>40</sup> Kupanta-Inaras treaty, §§5-6. In fact he fled from somewhere near Pitassa, rather than from his homeland.

<sup>41</sup> *K.U.B.* XV, 34 and duplicates 33a, 33b and 38. See *ANET*. 352, Goetze, *J.C.S.* 14 (1960) p. 48.

<sup>42</sup> See p. 170.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Otten, *J.C.S.* 15 (1961) p. 112.

But there are considerations which make this rather difficult. First, Manapa-Dattas of the Seha-River-land is told not to covet a frontier-place of Hatti,<sup>44</sup> and the presence of Masa and Karkisa in the middle of the diagram makes this awkward, though not impossible. Piyamaradus boasts that he will raid Masa and Karkisa from his off-shore residence, and this surely means that they are on or near the coast. Then there is the statement<sup>45</sup> that in the reign of Suppiluliumas Masa repeatedly invaded the Land of the River Hulana and the Land of Kassiya. These countries again bring us back towards the area of the Hittite homeland, for they occur again in the "Aretalogy of Hattusilis",<sup>46</sup> in the list of places which that king recovered from the Gasga. The end of that list is Pala, Tumanna, Kassiya, Sappa, the Land of the River Hulana. Pala and Tumanna, despite the objections of G.G.,<sup>47</sup> are most probably to be located west of the lower Halys, and Kassiya, Sappa, and the Land of the River Hulana are presumably beyond them, further west. If these countries were "repeatedly" invaded by Masa, then Masa is most probably the next country west again. Karkisa is not mentioned in these operations, and presumably lies still further from Hatti. Masa and Karkisa seem on the whole to have been friendly towards the Hittites (Manapa-Dattas fled to Karkisa from his enemies and was protected;<sup>48</sup> Mashuiluwas fled from the Hittites to Masa and was handed over;<sup>49</sup> both states were apparently Hittite allies at Qadesh;<sup>50</sup> Piyamaradus could acceptably have been banished there<sup>51</sup>). In the Alaksandus-treaty however they are a potential enemy.<sup>52</sup> This general friendliness, or at least neutrality (they took no part in the Mursilis-Arzawa campaign)<sup>53</sup> suggests that they were in a position similar to that of Wilusa, on the fringe of the Arzawan area and sharing a common frontier with the Hatti-land. Very probably our diagram should be altered to this:

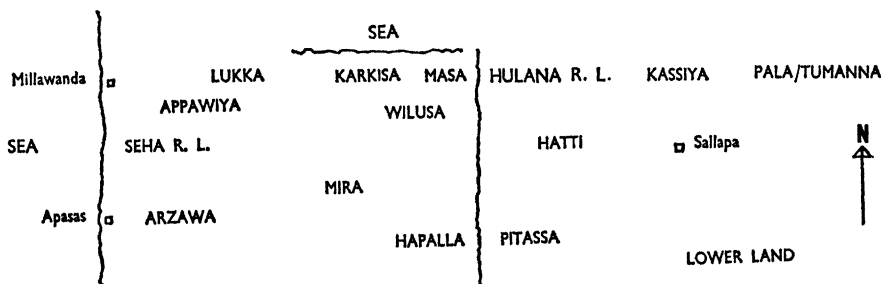


FIG. 10.

Is it now possible to fit this pattern to the map of Anatolia? Already there are several indications of the general area in which these countries lay. The first and most important point is that places like the Lukka-lands, the Seha-River-land and Millawanda lie north rather than south of Arzawa. If this is accepted then there are no grounds for identifications such as Lukka = Lycia<sup>54</sup> and Millawanda =

<sup>44</sup> See note 14.

<sup>45</sup> Deeds of Suppiluliumas, fragment 13, E i 7 sqq. See Güterbock in *J.C.S.* 10 (1956) p. 65.

<sup>46</sup> Translation in Sturtevant and Bechtel, *Hittite Chrestomathy* (1935) pp. 42 sqq. See Goetze, *J.C.S.* 14 (1960) p. 46.

<sup>47</sup> G.G. pp. 30-1. But cf. Goetze, *J.C.S.* 14 (1960), p. 45; Güterbock, *J.N.E.S.* 20 (1961), 95.

<sup>48</sup> Manapa-Dattas treaty, §1.

<sup>49</sup> Kupanta-Inaras treaty, §§5-6.

<sup>50</sup> Mš and Kṛkš. See Breasted, *Ancient records of Egypt* III, §309; Wainwright, *J.E.A.* XXV, 149.

<sup>51</sup> *A.U.* I, IV, 6.

<sup>52</sup> Alaksandus-treaty, §14.

<sup>53</sup> As far as can be seen from the Annals of Mursilis.

<sup>54</sup> e.g. G.G. 81; G. L. Huxley, *Achaean and Hittites* (1960) p. 33.

Miletus.<sup>55</sup> These conclusions have been archaeologically very suspect since J. Mellaart's denial<sup>56</sup> that there are second millennium remains along the coast of south-west and south Anatolia. Scholars as eminent as Goetze<sup>57</sup> and Mellink<sup>58</sup> have doubted his assertion, but so far no actual remains have been found to prove it wrong. The archaeological evidence then seems to this extent at least to fit the evidence of the texts, and we must consider our diagram to represent the west and north-west rather than the west and south-west of Anatolia.

Granted that this is true, the proposal of G.G. to locate Arzawa in the Hermus valley<sup>59</sup> has much to recommend it. This does seem the obvious centre for a country with the power and resources of Arzawa. Apasas might then be Ephesus, or perhaps some site in the vicinity of Izmir. G.G.'s siting of the Seha River-land in the Caicus<sup>60</sup> valley also seems reasonable, and if the pattern shown above is accepted, most of the difficulties mentioned by G.G. disappear.<sup>61</sup> But geographically the Caicus valley is very closely linked to the river-valleys further south, and it is easier to think of it as a part of Arzawa than as an independent state. It is, I think, more probable that the Seha River-land lay in the upper part of the valley of the Simav Çay, with an extension to the sea at the head of the Gulf of Edremit. The Lukka-lands might well be situated in the area lying along the south shore of the Sea of Marmara and inland to Gönen, Manyas, Karacabey and Bursa, and perhaps it may not be out of place here to point out that this would clear up a minor Homeric mystery. In Book V of the *Iliad* the hero Pandarus is twice<sup>62</sup> called a "Lycian", but elsewhere<sup>63</sup> it is specifically stated that he comes from Zeleia by the River Aesepus, a town which is situated by Leaf at Sariköy,<sup>64</sup> in the very region where we now locate the Lukka-lands. It has been suggested before that the Homeric Lycians are in fact Lukka-men,<sup>65</sup> and with a north-western situation for the Lukka-lands the presence of "Lycians" at Troy makes much more sense.

Where should we look for Millawanda? It must be on the shores of the Sea of Marmara, in a position such that anyone approaching it from the east would come through the Lukka-lands. The most likely situation, in my opinion, is somewhere in the region of Classical Cyzicus, where there were good harbours and easy escape-routes to other lands. Again there is some later evidence to support a location in this area. Just inland from Cyzicus lay the town of Miletopolis, and it is clear that despite the number of Milesian settlements in this area this was not a colony of Miletus in Caria.<sup>66</sup> Its name is derived from an indigenous tribe of Milatoi. These could well have been the remnants of the second-millennium people of Millawanda, if they occupied roughly the same area.

Proceeding eastwards, Karkisa may be situated in the area along the shores of

<sup>55</sup> e.g. G.G. 80; Schachermeyr, *Hethiter u. Achäer* (1935).

<sup>56</sup> *A.S.* 4 (1954) 177-8, 5 (1955) 82.

<sup>57</sup> *J.C.S.* 14 (1960) p. 47.

<sup>58</sup> *A.J.A.* 68 (1964) p. 269.

<sup>59</sup> G.G. 84. It need not of course be confined to the Hermus valley, but probably included the Maeander and Cayster valleys as well.

<sup>60</sup> G.G. 96.

<sup>61</sup> e.g. there would be no question of the control of "such widely separated districts as Miletus and the Caicus valley."

<sup>62</sup> Lines 105 and 173.

<sup>63</sup> In the Catalogue; *Iliad* II, 824-7.

<sup>64</sup> Leaf, *Troy, a Study in Homeric Geography* (1912) pp. 180 sqq.

<sup>65</sup> For the suggestion that the Lycians migrated from the north-west to their later home in the south-west cf. Pythian Adams, *Bulletin of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem*, No. 1 (1921), p. 4; Wainwright in *J.E.A.* XXV (1939) p. 153.

<sup>66</sup> A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (1937) p. 36. Ramsay, *Historical Geography*, p. 156 sqq.

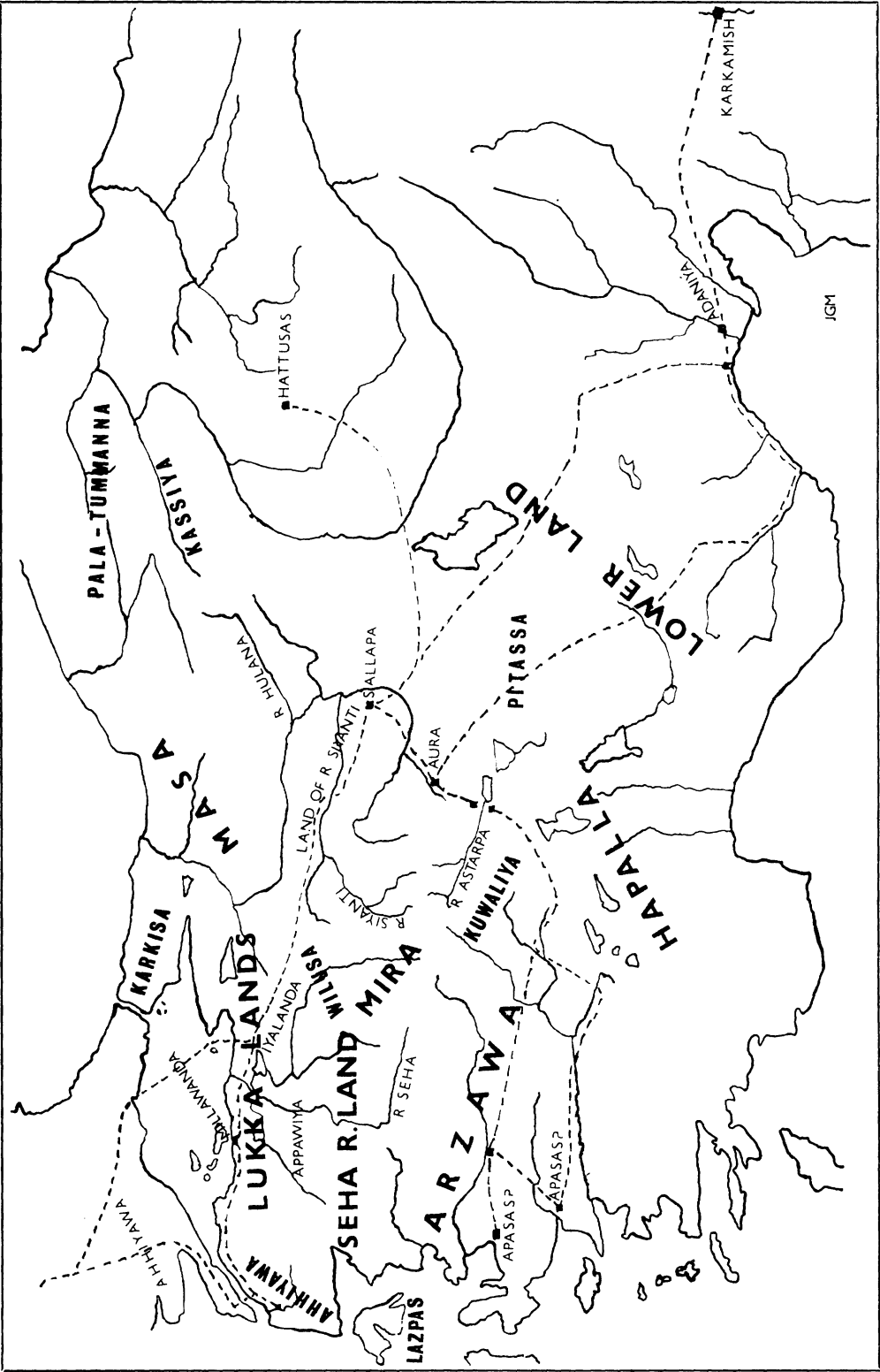


FIG. 11.

the Gulf of Izmit, with Masa, round Adapazarı and up into the hill country south-east of that town. The Land of the River Hulana and Kassiya would then be either in the neighbourhood of Bolu and Gerede, or further south around Beypazarı and Ilgaz, with Pala-Tumanna around Kastomonu.<sup>67</sup> The country of Wilusa might lie in the rich Eskişehir plain, but archaeologically this is Hittite, and it is more probable that Wilusa should be placed in the Tavşanlı-Köprüören area, within the boundaries of the west-Anatolian culture-province. The situation of Mira-Kuwaliya is clearly on the route from Hatti to Arzawa, and this suggests the area west of Afyon. The river Astarpa is perhaps to be equated (as G.G.<sup>68</sup>) with the Akar Çay, and the River Siyanti with the upper course of the Porsuk Çay, as both rivers have their sources in the Murat Dağ and together form a natural boundary-line. Hapalla should be south of Mira, in the Turkish Lake District.

The exact position of Sallapa is a matter of considerable dispute. G.G.<sup>69</sup> place it at Sivri Hisar, near Classical Pessinus, which Goetze<sup>70</sup> regards as "quite impossible". I feel myself that the texts he quotes<sup>71</sup> are not as conclusive as the strictly historical texts. J. Mellaart observes:<sup>72</sup> "No second millennium remains are known to exist at Pessinus. A location in the general area of Sivri Hisar is not impossible, and attention should be drawn to a Hittite relief said to have been found at Yağrı Hüyük (Bossert, *Altanatolien*, Plate 571), which may indicate the existence of an important Hittite site, possibly Sallapa. A position west of the Sakarya, but still east of the Sivri Hisar Dağları, would fit the text which shows that Sallapa was reached after crossing the River Sehiriya, near Mount Lawasa; this mountain would also shelter the site from western attack. An alternative is the fortified city of Yaraşlı, on the eastern slopes of the Karaca Dağ, west of Kulu, discovered by Sir William Ramsay and rediscovered by Messrs. Ballance and Hall in 1957. This site occupies a commanding position near the northern end of the Salt Lake, and was obviously an important centre in the Second Millennium and Iron Age. Either site would fulfil the conditions as a meeting-place for Mursilis with Sarri-Kusuh coming with an army from Carchemish. From the fact that they met at Sallapa it is clear that the king of Carchemish came through Kizzuwadna, crossed the Taurus by the Cilician Gates, struck north-west from there and skirted the Salt Lake, either along its easier eastern side or round the south and west sides, through the Lower Land. The western road is less easy, but there are a number of small settlements indicating old tracks, and though in Classical times the Axylon desert was waterless,<sup>73</sup> conditions may have been less severe in the 14th century B.C." My own preference is for a position somewhere in the neighbourhood of Sivri Hisar.

<sup>67</sup> For these areas see C. A. Burney in *AS. VI* (1956) 179-203.

<sup>68</sup> G.G. 86. J. Mellaart points out that the Akar Çay is a very poor boundary and can be crossed by anyone with the help of a long pole. His suggestion is "to identify the R. Astarpa with that tributary which runs from Emirdağ north-east towards the Sakarya. As newly defined the Astarpa would form the eastern boundary with Hatti, whereas the Siyanti (upper Sakarya in the Turkmen Dağ) would form the northern boundary with Hittite territory, in this area the Land of Wilusa." This is slightly different from my own suggestion, and Mr. Mellaart's knowledge of the ground lends weight to his proposal. But although the actual boundary of Mira is uncertain, the area in which the country lay is clear. My own identification of the Siyanti with the upper Porsuk Çay perhaps finds some confirmation in the tale of Madduwattas, who was given the land of the River Siyanti by the Hittite king. This name perhaps indicates that Madduwattas received rather more of the river-valley than was included in the Land of Mira. His fief may in fact have included the plain of Eskişehir, through which the Porsuk Çay flows. This rich plain on the edge of Hittite territory would give him an excellent base from which to expand.

<sup>69</sup> G.G. 75 sqq.

<sup>70</sup> *J.C.S.* 14 (1960) p. 47.

<sup>71</sup> *K.Bo* IV, 13, i, 39 ff. *K.U.B.* VI, 45, ii, 34 ff.

<sup>72</sup> In a letter.

<sup>73</sup> Ramsay, *Historical Geography*, p. 360 suggests there was a route across it in the classical period.

A useful check on the pattern we have proposed can be found in the so-called Annals of Tudhaliyas IV,<sup>74</sup> where 22 countries are listed which seem to have formed the Land of Assuwa.<sup>75</sup> Some of the names are not attested elsewhere, but others are familiar as places in western Anatolia. The first is most probably Luqqa, the eighth, Karakisa, is presumably the same as Karkisa, the fourteenth, Warsiya, is presumably the same as Warsiyalla, which is “in your direction” to the king of Wilusa, and the fifteenth and sixteenth are found in conjunction with Karkisa in *K.U.B.* XXIII, 21, rev. 31 (Bossert, *Asia* 31–2). If these identifications are correct then the Land of Assuwa is situated along the south shore of the Sea of Marmara. An Assuwan confederation stretching from Lycia to the far north-west, as envisaged by Professor Page<sup>76</sup> and others, does not seem to fit the geographical facts. A situation on the Marmara also makes it less likely that the name Assuwa is the prototype for Asia,<sup>77</sup> and if Assuwa and Ahhiyawā existed at the same time<sup>78</sup> it is less likely that Wilusiya and Taruisa are Ilium and Troy. The identification of Wilusiya with Wilusa cannot be correct if we accept the specific statement of the Alaksandus-treaty (§2) that Wilusa was neutral at the time. The alternative is to assume that this statement is either mistaken or deliberately falsified for some political purpose. On the whole the latter seems rather more likely.

### *Ahhiyawā*

Once a basic pattern of western Anatolian geography has been established, it is possible to turn to a problem which has vexed both Aegean and Anatolian scholars for some time—the position and status of Ahhiyawā. Ever since it was first suggested<sup>79</sup> that the people of Ahhiyawā were Mycenaean Greeks philhellenic scholars, sustained by the constant faith that there *ought* to be Greeks in the Hittite texts, have kept up

<sup>74</sup> E. I. Gordon has observed (in Gurney, *C.A.H.* II,<sup>2</sup> XV(a), p. 20) that the mention of the “king of the Hurrians” in the “Annals of Tudhaliyas IV” makes it impossible to date this section of the text to so late a period. The Assuwa campaign must consequently be referred to another, earlier Tudhaliyas, presumably in the period before the kingship of Suppiluliumas. The order, and even the number, of kings in this period is uncertain, but campaigning in the west must be relegated to a date before the collapse from which the Empire recovered under Suppiluliumas—perhaps to the reign of “Tudhaliyas II” about 1450–1430, when “Tudhaliyas came to Arzawa” as mentioned in the Alaksandus treaty. Another text which may well be moved to this period is the Madduwattas text (Götze, *Madduwattas*, *M.V.A.G.* 32 [1927]) in which the “father of my Sun” may well be the Tudhaliyas who campaigned in the west, and the author, probably an Arnuwandas, a monarch of the period of the collapse. It was at just this time that western Anatolia became temporarily important in Near Eastern affairs (cf. the Arzawa letters in the Amarna correspondence and the operations of the *Lu-uk-ki* in Cyprus (*E.A.* 38, 10). These are surely Lukka-people from the north-west rather than Lycians from the south-west, and their actions are remarkably similar to those of Madduwattas and Attarsiyas the Ahhiyawan, who also descend on Cyprus from north-west Anatolia. These operations seem to fit this period of Hittite weakness just as well as the period of the final Hittite collapse.

Needless to say, the revised dating of these texts, if accepted, makes it impossible to use them as background-material for the Trojan War.

<sup>75</sup> The list is given in G.G. p. 105 and pp. 121–2.

<sup>76</sup> D. L. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad*, (*H.H.I.*) (1959) pp. 102 sqq.

<sup>77</sup> The suggestion, though less likely, is by no means impossible. There seems to be a very decided move of north-western names (e.g. Lukka/Lycia, Karkisa/Caria, Masa/Mysia) towards the west and south-west coasts *at the end of the second millennium*, and Assuwa/Asia may well have moved with them. It is perhaps worth while to observe that the Trojan Catalogue in Homer (in all probability a document with its origins in the second millennium) looks much more interesting—and convincing—if we move the Lycians, Carians etc. back to their second millennium positions and assume a later misunderstanding after the movements have taken place.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. *A.U.* IX. This text has normally been dated to Tudhaliyas IV, because of the mention of Assuwa. But if Assuwa belongs to an earlier period, so presumably does *A.U.* IX. The suggestion of Forrer (*Reall. d. Ass.* 1, 157) that the text belongs to an earlier Tudhaliyas, is not then as “out of place” as e.g. G. L. Huxley (*Achaean and Hittites*, p. 5) supposes.

<sup>79</sup> By Forrer, *MDOG* 63 (1924) 1–22; *OLZ* (1924) 113–18; *KlF* 1 (1929), 252–72; *RLA* I (1928) s.v. Ahhiyawa.



a stream of publications<sup>80</sup> in support of their thesis. Their case has been so exhaustively and so persuasively presented that lately it has come to be taken more or less for granted that they are right. Yet the case is by no means as certain as its defenders would have us suppose. Professor Page<sup>81</sup> bases his thesis on the fact that no mainland ruler could talk as the king of Ahhiyawā does to the king of the Hittites and get away with it; we shall have more to say of this later. Professor Huxley's case<sup>82</sup> is that Millawanda is undoubtedly Miletus, and he cites G.G.<sup>83</sup> as having proved this. Now this equation is, as I have tried to show above, by no means certain, and the evidence collected by G.G. (and more extensively by Schachermeyr<sup>84</sup>) cannot in any way be said to amount to a conclusive proof. It is based on the identification of place-names *assuming that the march is in the direction of Miletus*, and on the further assumption that the Ahhiyawans are Mycenaean Greeks,—the very conclusion that Professor Huxley tries to draw from it. In fact in Millawanda = Miletus we have another article of philhellenic faith, but though faith may move mountains we must resist the temptation to let it move Millawanda.

If our pattern is correct, and Millawanda is to be found near later Cyzicus, what conclusions can be drawn about Ahhiyawā? The affairs of Ahhiyawā affect the Hittite dominions mainly in Millawanda, the Lukka-lands, the Seha-River-land, Masa and Karkisa.<sup>85</sup> The sea raider Piyamaradus makes Millawanda his base for attacks on the Lukka-lands, and Millawanda is Ahhiyawan at the time; he will cross to Masa and Karkisa leaving his family in Ahhiyawan territory;<sup>86</sup> he has humiliated Manapa-Dattas of the Seha-River-land and attacked the Land of Lazpas<sup>87</sup> (the equation of this land with Lesbos is thus both philologically and geographically blameless<sup>88</sup>); the context is clearly that of the extreme north-west. We must look for a country some at least of which is on the mainland,<sup>89</sup> and some of which may, but need not, be overseas, a country strong enough to be regarded as an independent power by the Hittites. And if we look with eyes that are not dimmed by the brilliance of the Homeric poems, we shall find such a country—the area known in later times as the Troad, with as its principal citadel the mound known as Hissarlik and identified with Troy.<sup>90</sup>

Can this equation be justified in terms of the known history of Ahhiyawā?

<sup>80</sup> Most recently Page, *H.H.I.*; Huxley, *Achaeans and Hittites*.

<sup>81</sup> *op. cit.* pp. 10–14.

<sup>82</sup> *op. cit.* p. 11.

<sup>83</sup> G.G. 80–1.

<sup>84</sup> F. Schachermeyr, *Hethiter u. Achäer* (1935).

<sup>85</sup> For the texts see Sommer, *A.U.*; Güterbock, *Ζ.Α. N.F.* 9 (1936), 321 sqq.; Schachermeyr, *Hethiter u. Achäer*, 41–2. For a summary of their contents see Huxley, *Achaeans and Hittites* 1–10. The evidence for a connexion with Mira (*A.U.* XVIII and V) is not sufficient to give any certainty that the two are in contact.

<sup>86</sup> *A.U.* I *passim*.

<sup>87</sup> *K.U.B.* XIX, 5. G.G. 95.

<sup>88</sup> Page, *H.H.I.* 24, n. 2; Huxley, *op. cit.* p. 12.

<sup>89</sup> Sommer is, I am sure, right in saying that if the country had had an obviously Anatolian name there would never have been any suggestion that it lay overseas. See Sommer, “*Ahhiyawā und kein Ende?*”, (1937) p. 286 sq., Page, *H.H.I.* p. 8.

<sup>90</sup> The identification of Ahhiyawā with the Troad is not new. It appears for instance in the maps of Götze (*Kleinasien* 2) and Lloyd (*Early Highland Peoples of Anatolia* (1967), p. 17). What I hope I have done is to justify this position with reference to the rest of the geography of western Anatolia in a fuller and more formal way than is to be found in these works. Apart from Ahhiyawā, my map differs in several important respects from that of Götze.

It may be as well to say here that I do not believe in the historicity of the “Trojan War” as it is portrayed in the Homeric epics. The reasons for my unbelief are too many and too complicated for inclusion in this article, but I hope to give them elsewhere.

I feel certain that it can. The earliest appearance of the name <sup>91</sup> occurs during the reign of Suppiluliumas (*ca.* 1380–1340) and the latest during the reign of Tudhaliyas IV (*ca.* 1250–1220) or Arnuwandas III (*ca.* 1220–1190), so that the known history of Ahhiyawā covers the last part of Troy VI and possibly the whole of Troy VIIa and VIIb1. For most of this period relations with the Hittite Empire are good though infrequent. Suppiluliumas regards Ahhiyawā as a safe place for a royal banishment,<sup>92</sup> a fact that suggests that the countries have been friendly for some time. A few years later when the prince of Arzawa flees from the conquering Mursilis to the king of Ahhiyawā,<sup>93</sup> he is promptly returned by him to Mursilis. Later in Mursilis's reign <sup>94</sup> the god of Ahhiyawā (with the god of Lazpas) is dispatched to the Hittite emperor's sickbed. Members of the two courts share chariot-lessons.<sup>95</sup> At the time of the Tawagalawas–Piyamaradus episode <sup>96</sup> relations are still friendly (we shall have more to say of this later), and it seems that gifts are still being exchanged during the reign of Hattusilis III.<sup>97</sup> In the Tudhaliyas Annals <sup>98</sup> the king of Ahhiyawā is involved with the Seha-River-land, but it is quite uncertain if he is an ally or an enemy of the Hittite emperor. The activities of Attarsiyas the Ahhiyawan have been referred to earlier.<sup>99</sup> Then there is the well-known erasure in the treaty between Tudhaliyas IV and the king of Amurru:<sup>100</sup> “the kings who are of the same rank as myself, the king of Egypt, the king of Babylon, the king of Assyria and the King of Ahhiyawā”, with the subsequent removal of the last name. Again, we shall have more to say of this later.<sup>101</sup>

For assessing the relations of Ahhiyawā with the Hittite Empire, the most important text is undoubtedly the Tawagalawas Letter.<sup>102</sup> This letter is a central feature of Professor Page's argument,<sup>103</sup> for he feels that no Hittite emperor would be so “abject” and “soft-spoken” unless he were “a chafing, stamping king, struggling much to be composed”; and this, Professor Page feels, could only be the case if the king of Ahhiyawā were beyond his reach—that is beyond the sea. But consider the facts of the matter. The letter is probably to be dated to the latter part of the reign of Mursilis <sup>104</sup> and its date is therefore about 1310–1300 B.C.<sup>105</sup> Anatolia is peaceful, the Arzawa-countries have been reduced to vassaldom; but to the south there are signs of danger, for Egypt is on the move.<sup>106</sup> Just at this moment, when peace in

<sup>91</sup> Accepting the usual reconstruction of the Hittite king-list as seen e.g. in G.G. p. ix. But see notes 74 and 78 above.

<sup>92</sup> *A.U.* XIII.

<sup>93</sup> *A.U.* XV.

<sup>94</sup> *A.U.* X.

<sup>95</sup> Tawagalawas Letter, II, 58 sqq.

<sup>96</sup> *A.U.* I.

<sup>97</sup> *A.U.* IV.

<sup>98</sup> *K.U.B.* XXIII, 13. See G.G. 120–1; Page, *H.H.I.* p. 28, n. 25; Huxley op. cit. pp. 7–8. This portion of the “Tudhaliyas Annals” is unaffected by the redating mentioned in note 74.

<sup>99</sup> See note 74.

<sup>100</sup> *A.U.* XVII.

<sup>101</sup> See below p. 182 sq.

<sup>102</sup> *A.U.* I.

<sup>103</sup> Page, *H.H.I.* pp. 10–14.

<sup>104</sup> The author is an old man, apologising for the actions of his youth (Taw. IV, 52 sqq). Atpas and Piyamaradus, who appear in the text, appear also in *K.U.B.* XIX, 5, a letter from Manapa-Dattas of the Seha-River-land. This presumably means that Atpas, Piyamaradus, Manapa-Dattas and the author of the Tawagalawas letter are contemporaries. Since Manapa-Dattas was installed as king of the Seha-River-land by Mursilis II at the beginning of his reign, he is unlikely to have survived until Muwatallis, the successor of Mursilis, was an old man. The latter part of the reign of Mursilis is much more probable.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Goetze, *C.A.H.* II<sup>2</sup>, chapter XXI, p. 35.

<sup>106</sup> The attempted reconquest of the Syrian provinces by the rulers of the Nineteenth Dynasty was begun by Sethos I (1318–04). Even in his first year his armies reached the Lebanon, if not further.

the west is essential so that the emperor can turn to the south, a foolish vassal called Piyamaradus begins to stir up trouble. His base of operations is Millawanda, a town within the realms of the friendly king of Ahhiyawā. This is surely no time to stir up further enmity in the west. "Would not the spectacle of Millawanda demolished and depopulated teach [the king of Ahhiyawā] a timely lesson?" asks Professor Page.<sup>107</sup> It might well, but it would also involve the emperor in a war in the west when he wanted it least. Common-sense demands that he should be "soft-spoken". Besides, consider the character of the emperor who is expected to be so violent. Let us look for a moment at an earlier incident in his reign. Manapa-Dattas, whom we have met before,<sup>108</sup> had been installed by Mursilis as king of the Seha-River-land, "but when Ukha-zitis, king of Arzawa, came and warred against the Sun, thou, Manapa-Dattas, didst sin against the Sun, and didst back up Ukha-zitis my enemy, and didst fight against the Sun."<sup>109</sup> Soon however Ukha-zitis and all his allies are defeated. Surely now is the time for demolition and depopulation in the Seha-River-land? But what does the mighty Mursilis do? "Listen", as Professor Page would say, "and perpend." "As soon as Manapa-Dattas, the son of Muwa-the-lion, heard about me 'His Majesty is coming' he sent a messenger to meet me and wrote to me as follows: 'My lord, slay me not, but take me into allegiance; and as for the people who come over to me, I will deliver them to my lord.' But I answered him as follows; 'Once upon a time, when your brothers drove you out of your land, I commended you to the people of Karkisa. I even sent presents to the people of Karkisa on your behalf. But in spite of that you did not follow me, but you followed Ukha-zitis my enemy. So now am I to take you into allegiance <sup>110</sup>?' " So far, so good; the end of Manapa-Dattas is at hand. Or is it? "I would have gone forth and destroyed him, but he sent his mother to meet me; and she came and fell at my feet and spoke as follows: 'Our lord, do not destroy us, but take us, our lord, into allegiance!' And because a woman came to meet me and fell at my feet, I showed kindness to the woman and for that reason I did not proceed into the Land of the River Seha." So there we have our great conqueror. He is not only soft-spoken; he is soft-hearted too.<sup>111</sup>

This brings me to another point. For half a century, and probably longer, the king of the Hittites and the king of Ahhiyawā have been friends. Now the raider Piyamaradus is operating from Ahhiyawan territory. A friendly message is surely all that is required to stop his nonsense. But the surprising thing is that a friendly message has no apparent effect. Piyamaradus and his Ahhiyawan friends continue with their anti-Hittite adventures, and the king of Ahhiyawā seems quite unable to stop them. Much has been made of the "remoteness" of the king of Ahhiyawā, and of his inability to control his own affairs.<sup>112</sup> But the idea of "remoteness", of actual distance, is nowhere mentioned in the text. The king of Ahhiyawā is certainly ineffective, but this need not mean that he is in Rhodes, or Mycenae, or anywhere else overseas. If we return to our equation of Ahhiyawā with the Troad, and remember the date (about 1310-1300), we can find a very good reason for the king of Ahhiyawa's ineffectiveness. His citadel had just been struck by a devastating

<sup>107</sup> *H.H.I.* p. 14.

<sup>108</sup> p. 171 above.

<sup>109</sup> Manapa-Dattas treaty, §3, translated by O. R. Gurney in G.G. 93.

<sup>110</sup> *A.M.* pp. 67-73. The translation is taken from O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (1952) pp. 115-16.

<sup>111</sup> He is also shrewd, for by frightening Manapa-Dattas before forgiving him he ensures the return of escaped prisoners and a constancy which another vassal might not have shown.

<sup>112</sup> e.g. Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 49.

earthquake.<sup>113</sup> Would our soft-hearted emperor be likely to attack an old friend when his castle had just tumbled about his ears?

There remains the problem of the base which Piyamaradus uses for his operations against the Hittite coast. Professor Huxley is certainly right when he says <sup>114</sup> that "Piyamaradus is in territory belonging to the king of Ahhiyawā, but the territory is not part of Ahhiyawā." But if not, where is it? Given that Millawanda, the Lukka-lands, Masa and Karkisa lie along the south shore of the Sea of Marmara, then the obvious refuge for a sea-raider is the opposite European shore or one of the islands in the Sea of Marmara. This satisfies all the conditions which the text demands, and the area was certainly within the sphere of the Troy VI culture.<sup>115</sup> At last the tale of Piyamaradus begins to make sense. At last we have a reason for the independent actions of Tawagalawas and Atpas, for the long-suffering patience of the Hittite emperor, and for the ineffectiveness of the king of Ahhiyawā.

So it is possible to account for the situation which is to be found in the Tawagalawas Letter. But this situation is itself only part of a wider problem—that of *why* successive kings sought the friendship of the rulers of Ahhiyawā, and *why* the route to the north-west was of such great importance to them. The answer to this problem has, I think, been provided by J. Mellaart in an article in this volume.<sup>116</sup> The power of a Bronze Age empire such as that of the Hittites depended to a large extent on the supply of tin for its weapons, and tin was an extremely scarce commodity. Mr. Mellaart has traced the route by which it seems to have been brought from Bohemia to north-west Anatolia, but its further passage from there to Hatti was dependent on the goodwill of the countries through or near which it passed—Ahhiyawā, the Lukka-lands and Wilusa. It is easy to see why Hittite kings were eager to maintain good relations with these countries, for the cutting of the tin-route could be a fatal blow to their empire. It was for this reason that Mursilis formed his ring of vassal-states—the Seha River-land with Appawiya, Mira-Kuwaliya and Hapalla—to cut off Arzawa not only from Hatti but from the route to the north-west as well. Arzawa too presumably needed tin. It was for this reason too that the alliance of Madduwattas of the Eskişehir plain <sup>117</sup> with Attarsiyas of Ahhiyawā, and the conquests of Madduwattas in the Lukka-lands, were fraught with such danger for the Hittites, and it may well be that it was the cutting of this route during the disturbances at the beginning of the 12th century B.C. (whether these disturbances were caused by invaders from Europe or by the mysterious "peoples of the sea") which led to the speedy disintegration of the Hittite dominions. The final blow probably did not come from the west—no "sea-people" ever came sailing up the Halys—but it was events in the west which weakened the empire and laid it open to its destroyers.

We may now consider the Ahhiyawan evidence for the reign of Tudhaliyas IV. As has been mentioned above, Tudhaliyas was in some way involved with the king of Ahhiyawā (in person) in the Seha-River-land, but the broken context makes any interpretation conjectural. Another Tudhaliyas text, that of the Amurru-treaty,<sup>118</sup> also mentioned above, has given rise to a good deal of speculation on the status of

<sup>113</sup> The destruction of Troy VI by earthquake is placed by Blegen "some time within only a few years of 1300 B.C." (Blegen, *Troy*, selections from *C.A.H.*<sup>2</sup> (1961), p. 11. Cf. *Troy* III, 1, 18).

<sup>114</sup> Huxley, *Achaean and Hittites*, p. 19.

<sup>115</sup> At least two sites on the European shore of the Sea of Marmara, Selimpaşa and Töptepe, have yielded wheelmade Grey Minyan sherds of Troy VI–VII type. See D. H. French in *A.S.* XV, (1965), p. 34 and fig. 13: 1; and 16 (1966), p. 49 and fig. 6, nos. 32–3. There is also a site of Troy VI type near the tip of the Gallipoli peninsula (Blegen, *Troy* III, 1, p. 18). The whole area has yet to be properly surveyed.

<sup>116</sup> pp. 137–202. I am grateful to Mr. Mellaart for allowing me to see this article in manuscript.

<sup>117</sup> If the Land of the River Siyanti is to be situated there—see note 68.

<sup>118</sup> *K.U.B.* XXIII, 1 = *A.U.* XVII.

Ahhiyawā as a Near Eastern power. It is clear from the inclusion of the ruler of Ahhiyawā among the “kings of equal rank” that Ahhiyawā was an independent state at the time. But why was the name of Ahhiyawā erased from the list? “It would hardly have occurred to the scribe to insert the name of the king of Ahhiyawā unless the latter had in fact been one of the great powers of the time; but the erasure seems to indicate that *the Hittite chancery did not wish to recognize the fact officially.*”<sup>119</sup> Conversely, “We have no right to use this testimony *in favour* of the Great Kingship of Ahhiyawā, since what it actually declares is that Ahhiyawā was judged *out of place* in a list of Great Kingdoms.”<sup>120</sup> But it should be remembered that we must substitute “independent” for “great” in these quotations,<sup>121</sup> and if we do, we begin to see a gleam of light. The Hittite scribe inserted the name of Ahhiyawā because it was an independent power, and then removed it because it had ceased to be an independent power. *As the treaty was being prepared, word reached the Hittite chancery that Ahhiyawā had lost its independence.* Again we think of the history of Troy VIIa, and of its end about this time in violent destruction by human agency.<sup>122</sup> The source of this destruction (it may have been caused by the Hittites,<sup>123</sup> or by the people of the Seha-River-land,<sup>124</sup> or even, let us admit it, by the Mycenaean Greeks,<sup>125</sup> or by someone else unknown) is irrelevant. What is important is that Troy, which we have equated with Ahhiyawā, ceased about this time to be an independent power. By erasing the name from their list the Hittite scribes were merely acknowledging the facts of life.

Is there any archaeological evidence for contact between the Troad and the Levant, as there must have been if Ahhiyawā is north-western Anatolian and ships of Ahhiyawā traded with Levantine ports? A good many fragments of Cypriot White Slip II ware were found in deposits of Late Troy VI<sup>126</sup> (dated by Blegen to 1325–1275), and these, as the excavator comments, “demonstrate that the sea-route from Cyprus was open,”<sup>127</sup> and used. In Troy VIIa too White Slip II ware was recovered,<sup>128</sup> and this too indicates that “communications beyond the sea were maintained beyond the Aegean as far as the shores of Cyprus.”<sup>129</sup> The evidence of cremation-burial in Troy and in Syria–Palestine cannot, I feel, be used in this connexion,<sup>130</sup> but pottery in the Levanto-Helladic pictorial style and with Levanto-

<sup>119</sup> Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 50.

<sup>120</sup> Page *H.H.I.* p. 6.

<sup>121</sup> Huxley, *Achaean and Hittites*, p. 16.

<sup>122</sup> The dating of the destruction of Troy VIIa is a matter of some doubt. In the official publication Blegen says “about 1240 B.C.” (*Troy* IV, 1, p. 12). Archaeologically speaking, Mycenaean IIIB pottery was in common use, while the style of IIIA had not been wholly abandoned. There was no IIIC pottery. The following level, VIIb 1, built without an interval after the destruction, shows some IIIB and some IIIC pottery. Troy VIIa lasted “one, or at the most two generations”, and the duration of Troy VIIb 1 “can hardly have been less than a generation, and may have been more”. If we believe with Blegen that IIIB pottery came to its end shortly before 1200 B.C., then a date about 1250–1240 B.C. is indicated for the destruction of Troy VIIa. Desborough (*The Last Mycenaeans and Their Successors* 1964) dates the end of IIIB to c. 1200 (p. 241) and the fall of Troy VIIa (p. 164) to “between 1250 and 1230”. If however we believe that IIIB pottery lasted until about 1180 B.C., (as for instance Stubbings in *C.A.H.* I<sup>2</sup>, VI, p. 75) then a destruction of Troy VIIa about 1200 B.C. can be contemplated. The latter figure, it seems to me, unnaturally stretches the “one, or at the most two generations” since the earthquake which ended Troy VI, and I would support the earlier date. Tudhaliyas IV is to be dated to ca. 1265–1240, so that the fall of Troy VIIa is reasonably likely to have taken place during his reign.

<sup>123</sup> e.g. J. M. Cook, *The Greeks in Ionia and the East* (1962) p. 19.

<sup>124</sup> If “the king of Ahhiyawā retreated” from the king of the Seha River-land in *A.U.* XVI. The sense of the verb is of course uncertain. See Huxley, *Achaean and Hittites*, p. 7.

<sup>125</sup> As the majority of Hellenists would have it.

<sup>126</sup> Chiefly Troy VIh. See Blegen, *Troy* III, 1, p. 17.

<sup>127</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>128</sup> *Troy* IV, 1, 9.

<sup>129</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>130</sup> *Troy* III, 1, 18.

Mycenaean shapes<sup>131</sup> does perhaps point to some sort of commercial connexion. Much evidence for the foreign contacts of Troy VIIa has undoubtedly been lost because of what Blegen describes as "later contamination",<sup>132</sup> and it might be as well to heed his warning that lack of recovered objects is no guarantee of lack of contact.<sup>133</sup> Evidence for Mycenaean trade in the Levant is extensive mainly because Mycenaean exports, pottery, ivories, metalwork and so on, are of a durable nature. The products of Troy, probably wool, cloth, grain and horses,<sup>134</sup> would be much less likely to yield identifiable remains. Even a scholar as cautious as Blegen has said, on the basis of the Cypriot ware quoted above, "It is certain in any event that ships sailed along the western and southern coasts as far as Cyprus. Calls may well have been made at Cilician ports and at those of northern Syria, and in this way it is not unlikely that there would have been connexions through intermediaries with the Hittite area of central Anatolia."<sup>135</sup> This hypothetical contact with the Hittites and the Syrian coast may well be confirmed by the banning of Ahhiyawan trading-ships from the harbours of Amurru.<sup>136</sup>

But as well as pottery of Levantine origin found at Troy there is evidence for a connexion with north-west Anatolia to be found at eastern Mediterranean sites. Grey ware of Minyan type is known from both Ugarit and Lachish,<sup>137</sup> and this implies contact with fairly widely separated areas. The trading-ships of Ahhiyawā may have been more active than has been realized.

Who were the Ahhiyawans? Clearly if they were the people of the area centred on the Troad, they were the people of the Troy VI-VIIb 1 culture (the continuity is stressed by Blegen<sup>138</sup>), a culture characterized by the famous "Minyan" pottery. There has been a great deal of speculation on the origin and connexions of this pottery, and it now seems reasonably certain that it originated in western Asia Minor,<sup>139</sup> and fairly likely that it was brought from there to Greece.<sup>140</sup> It is also often assumed<sup>141</sup> that the people who introduced it to Greece spoke an early form of Greek, and if so the similarity of culture between early Troy VI and Middle Helladic Greece allows us to suppose that not all the Greek-speakers left north-west Asia Minor and migrated to Greece. Those who stayed developed a different, though related, culture, but preserved a close connexion with their cousins on the mainland of Greece. What did they call themselves? The theory that the members of the Greek branch called themselves Ἀχαιοί is based only on Homeric evidence

<sup>131</sup> Levanto-Helladic style, *Troy* III, 1, 340, 347. Levanto-Mycenaean shapes *Troy* III, 1, 44.

<sup>132</sup> *Troy* IV, 1, 8.

<sup>133</sup> *Troy* III, 1, 17.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. Page, *H.H.I.* 69-70.

<sup>135</sup> *Troy* IV, 1, 10.

<sup>136</sup> For contact with Cyprus and the Levant during the Amarna period see note 74.

<sup>137</sup> *Ugaritica*, II, p. 156, fig. 60: 11, *Lachish*, II, Pl. LXIII, 8.

<sup>138</sup> e.g. *C.A.H.*<sup>2</sup> p. 12; *Troy* IV, 1, 6.

<sup>139</sup> Mellaart, *A.J.A.* 62 (1958) 15-18.

<sup>140</sup> It was first suggested that Minyan ware was brought to Greece at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age ca. 1900. (Mellaart, op. cit. p. 20). But excavations at Lerna in the Argolid have shown "gray ware of Minyan character" there in the EH III period. (Caskey, *Hesperia* 29 (1960), pp. 296 sqq.). In fact many towns including Lerna, Tiryns, Asine and Zygouries, were destroyed at the end of EH II ca. 2100, and this seems to be the most likely time for the beginning of "Minyan" penetration.

Even if further research on the Early and Middle Helladic periods in Greece suggests that the origins of Greek Minyan ware are not after all to be found in north-west Anatolia, we are still left with the similarity of culture between Troy VI and the Greek mainland, and the older theory of a two-pronged movement from south-east Europe into Greece and north-west Anatolia. The possibility of speakers of an early form of Greek in and around the Troad remains.

<sup>141</sup> Mellaart, op. cit. p. 19; Chadwick, *C.A.H.* II<sup>2</sup>, XXXIX (1963), p. 13; Piggott, *Ancient Europe* (1965), p. 121, but cf. Palmer, *Mycenaeans and Minoans* (1961), pp. 225 sqq.

but it is likely that some at least of the Greek-speakers did refer to themselves by that name. If the theory is accepted, then it is at least possible that the people left in Anatolia were also called Ἀχαιοί, or rather whatever form of Ἀχαιοί was current about 1900 B.C. In other words one group of Greek-speakers migrated to Greece, where some of them developed the Mycenaean civilization and became Homer's Ἀχαιοί, while the remainder, left behind in Asia minor developed the Troy VI culture and became the Ahhiyawans of the Hittite texts.

What happened to the Ahhiyawans? With the destruction which ended Troy VIIa their power was broken. After that the king and kingdom of Ahhiyawa appear no more in the Hittite texts. There is only Attarsiyas the man of Ahhiyawā hiding in the "dusk of Hittite history". But if Attarsiyas is not to be transferred to an earlier period <sup>142</sup> he is probably a refugee intent on carving out a new kingdom for himself. After the short twilight of Troy VIIb 1, the Trojan kingdom disappears before the advance of the "Buckelkeramik" folk.<sup>143</sup> But although the power of Troy was broken there is no evidence that the people of Troy were wiped out. The site of Troy itself was soon abandoned, but the characteristic grey ware of the Bronze Age carries on, seemingly without interruption, into the West Anatolian Iron Age, and reappears at Troy in Level VIII, some time before 700 B.C.<sup>144</sup> It is in fact, as Dunbabin says,<sup>145</sup> "the common ware of prehellenic Smyrna and other sites of the second and early first millennium on the coast; a descendant in this area is the grey bucchero well known in Lesbos, Phokaia and other Greek cities." The resettlement of the Troad seems to have been from the direction of Lesbos,<sup>146</sup> and both the Lesbians and the new Trojans are Aeolic in speech.<sup>147</sup> The archaeological evidence that the Aeolians are in fact direct descendants of the second-millennium Trojans (i.e. of the Ahhiyawans) driven south by the Buckelkeramik invasion and later expanding to the Troad again is confirmed by Carruba's suggestion <sup>148</sup> that the name "Aeolians" is in fact the same as that of the Ahhiyawans (i.e. Ahhiyawailēs = Αἰολέες). In Greek tradition the Aeolians were the first Greeks to emigrate to Asia Minor in the Dark Age, but archaeological evidence for this migration is strangely lacking,<sup>149</sup> and the traditions of the Aeolic cities <sup>150</sup> (foundation by Orestes etc.) have a curiously artificial appearance. It may well be that they were evolved by the Aeolians in the face of Ionian competition, first to show that they were the older-established group, and second to demonstrate that they too had a connexion with what was by this time recognized as the mother-land. They were, if you like, created at a period when the Aeolians, still conscious of their priority, were climbing onto the bandwagon of Hellenic nationalism.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that geographical proposals such as those that I have made in this article should be accompanied by archaeological surveys of the areas concerned. The proved existence of second millennium sites in the positions suggested for (e.g.) Sallapa and Millawanda would greatly strengthen any case based on textual evidence alone. I had hoped to investigate these areas in 1967, but unfortunately I was unable to do so.

<sup>142</sup> See note 74.

<sup>143</sup> Troy VIIb 2. Blegen, *Troy IV*, 1, 142 sqq.

<sup>144</sup> Blegen, *Troy IV*, 1, 252-3.

<sup>145</sup> T. J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours* (1957) pp. 65 sqq.

<sup>146</sup> *Troy IV*, 1, 147 and 250.

<sup>147</sup> Some Trojans may well have spent the intervening period on defensible heights such as the Balli Dağ, within the Troad itself. (*Troy IV*, 1, 147).

<sup>148</sup> Carruba in *Compte Rendu de l'onzième Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (1964) p. 42.

<sup>149</sup> J. M. Cook, *C.A.H.* II<sup>2</sup>, XXXVIII (1961) pp. 4 sqq.

<sup>150</sup> Strabo XIII, 1, 3. See Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (1923) 43 sqq.



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Secondary Burial at Çatal Hüyük

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## SECONDARY BURIAL AT ÇATAL HÜYÜK

In recent years the amount of material available for the study of Neolithic religion has been enormously increased by the partial excavation of the spectacular site of Çatal Hüyük, near Konya in south-central Turkey.<sup>1</sup> At this site part of a thirty-two acre town has been revealed, consisting of a number of rectangular single-storied houses, built close together so that the only means of access was through the roof. Inside the houses, rooms were provided with low clay platforms which served as seats, work-benches and beds. As well as dwelling-houses there were many buildings which seem to have been shrines. These were similar to the houses in size and structure, but had superior decoration in the form of reliefs and wall-paintings, and it is this material which provides abundant new evidence for the religion of the Neolithic period in Anatolia.

The interpretation of material of this type is a hazardous task; in some cases it can profitably be compared with information from later periods, not only in Anatolia itself but also in the Aegean area and Crete. A close study by B. C. Dietrich for instance has shown<sup>2</sup> that a good deal of the Çatal Hüyük material can be linked with what we know of Cretan religion. Dietrich does much to clarify the beliefs of the inhabitants of the town on the most basic problems of existence, and to illuminate the symbolic representation of the cycle of birth, death and rebirth on the walls of their shrines. But there are several features which he has to admit<sup>3</sup> are unparalleled in the Cretan evidence. Notable among these are pictures of vultures hovering above headless corpses and of piles of human skulls and bones under what

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<sup>1</sup> Preliminary reports on the Çatal Hüyük excavations are to be found in *Anatolian Studies* (AS) XII (1962), pp. 41-62; XIII (1963), pp. 43-103; XIV (1964), pp. 39-119; XVI (1966), pp. 165-191. General descriptions are to be found in J. Mellaart, *A Neolithic City in Turkey* (in *Scientific American* (April 1964), pp. 94-104); in J. Mellaart, *Earliest Civilizations of the Near East* (1965), pp. 81-101; and most fully in J. Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük* (1966). These do not include the results of the 1965 season. A more recent summary can be found in J. Mellaart, *The Neolithic of the Near East* (1975).

<sup>2</sup> B. C. Dietrich, *Some Light from the East on Cretan Cult Practice* in *Historia* XVI (1967), pp. 385-413.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 389-90.

appear to be structures of reed and matting. Clearly these must be of importance for a full understanding of religion at Çatal Hüyük, and it is perhaps worth while to consider them more fully in an attempt to find a clue to their meaning and significance.

Vultures, corpses and skulls are connected with death, and any study of what the citizens of Çatal Hüyük believed about death must also take into account the way in which they disposed of their corpses.<sup>4</sup> These were buried about two feet under the floors of the houses and shrines, either in a contracted position or extended on their backs. Normally they were placed under the sleeping-platforms, and only exceptionally are bodies found in oval graves outside the platform area. Several factors suggest that the bodies were not buried immediately after death. The tightness with which the bones were flexed and bound, the twisted and contorted positions of anatomically intact skeletons, the parcels of disjointed bones, the skulls wrapped in cloth, and the preservation of textiles below the skeletons all suggest that the dead were placed in the graves only when their flesh had been removed. After this primary excarnation the bones of the dead were laid on mats, placed in baskets, or wrapped in several layers of cloth, skin or fur, and then swathed in a net-like fabric, tied with a cord or with a narrow woven tape, and laid in the graves. Differing degrees of excarnation were observed, and it appears that rather than digging holes in the sleeping-platforms for individual burials the inhabitants retained the bones of the dead until they could be communally deposited. After the burial the hole was filled in and the entire building was replastered.

Grave-goods found include jewellery, weapons and toilet-articles. These objects are often of superb quality, and some graves are richly endowed with them. Some at least of the bones are decorated with red, blue or green paint. It is noticeable that there are far more women and children than adult males in the graves.

No direct archaeological evidence has been found to illustrate the treatment of the corpses before their final burial, and it is here that the interpretation of wall-paintings comes to our aid. A painting in Shrine E VIIb i<sup>5</sup> appears to show human bones, especially skulls, resting

<sup>4</sup> AS XII, pp. 51-2; AS XIII, pp. 95-101; AS XIV, pp. 92-97; AS XVI, pp. 182-3.

<sup>5</sup> AS XIII, p. 98 and Plate XXVIa.

under a light structure of reeds and matting, and this the excavator takes to represent the structure in which bodies were exposed before final burial. Another painting, in Shrine VII 8,<sup>6</sup> shows vultures hovering over headless human bodies, and this suggests that vultures helped in the process of excarnation. On the other hand a picture in Shrine VII 21<sup>7</sup> shows vultures similarly occupied, but this time the vultures have human feet. The implication may be that they are not vultures, but rather human beings dressed as vultures and engaged in some special ritual. There is also evidence elsewhere of the use of the vulture in connection with the Great Goddess of Çatal Hüyük in her aspect as a goddess of death,<sup>8</sup> and it is interesting to note the presence of human skulls on the floor of the shrine with the human-vulture paintings. Skulls in fact seem to be of considerable importance in the cult. It is significant that during the process of cleaning the skeletons 'the only parts left undisturbed were the brains'.<sup>9</sup> This must mean that the heads were either removed or protected in some way.

What was the point of this excarnation before burial? After an initial comparison with the 'Palaeolithic' Onge Pygmies of the Andaman Islands<sup>10</sup> Mr. Mellaart came to the conclusion that it was probably for hygienic reasons.<sup>11</sup> No-one wants a decomposing body under the bed. But this is, I think, to transpose modern ideas to Neolithic Anatolia, and it is contrary to all that we know of burial ceremonies in other communities. A dead human body is not like the body of a dead animal; its disposal is a matter of more than hygienic importance. The ritual of death is of enormous significance for the dead and for the living, and it may be worth while to compare what we have found at Çatal Hüyük with what is found in communities in other parts of the world, and to try if possible to draw conclusions from the comparison which will help us to gain a greater understanding of Neolithic religion in the Middle East. I need hardly say that in making an attempt to produce ethnological parallels for archaeological evidence I am well aware of the dangers that are involved. 'The raw material of prehistory', in Pro-

<sup>6</sup> AS XIV, p. 64 and Fig. 20.

<sup>7</sup> AS XIV, p. 64 and Figs. 21-2.

<sup>8</sup> AS XIII, pp. 70 and 90; Plate XXIIc, d; Fig. 26. Cf. AS XIV, p. 64.

<sup>9</sup> AS XIV, p. 93.

<sup>10</sup> AS XII, p. 52, with reference to *Illustrated London News*, Feb. 3rd 1962, p. 187.

<sup>11</sup> AS XIII, p. 95; AS XIV, p. 93.

fessor R. J. C. Atkinson's often-quoted words,<sup>12</sup> 'is not men, but things', and no amount of wishful thinking will alter this. Yet always there is the nagging feeling that one's ultimate object should be to go back *via* the things to the men who made them, to build up as complete a picture of prehistoric life as is possible, given the nature of the evidence. In recent years archaeologists have tended to concentrate on the technology and subsistence economics of ancient societies. Inferences on these subjects, as Professor C. F. C. Hawkes has shown, are relatively easy to make, and relatively likely to be free from error.<sup>13</sup> But inferences on social, political and religious institutions are much more difficult and much more dangerous, and many prominent archaeologists have spoken out against them. Their point has been well made by Professor Glyn Daniel.<sup>14</sup> 'Prehistory', he says, 'cannot speak of the social organisation or the religious beliefs of prehistoric society, and this is a fundamental limitation of prehistory. When prehistorians speak of the ideas and ideals of men before writing, they are making guesses'. This of course is true, but it need not prevent the archaeologist from making guesses, provided that he recognises what he is doing, and that his imagination is kept carefully under control. One method of guessing which has been much used in the past, but is at present largely out of favour, is by the use of ethnological parallels, a method described by Professor Daniel as of 'doubtful validity'. Professor Hawkes too has pointed out its limitations. 'You can use ethnological data obtained from modern primitives to stimulate your imagination by suggesting the sort of religious institutions and spiritual life your prehistoric people may or could have had, but you cannot demonstrate this way what they did have'. Yet I am encouraged by Professor Stuart Piggott,<sup>15</sup> who feels that by a 'judicious' use of analogy inferences can be made, although 'inference from archaeological evidence alone can inform us of only the broadest aspects of social structure or religious belief, and that often in a very tentative way'. So while I recognise that in attempting to use an ethnographic parallel I am 'making guesses' in 'a very tentative way', I feel that it is impor-

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<sup>12</sup> R. J. C. Atkinson, *Archaeology, History and Science* (1960), p. 8.

<sup>13</sup> C. F. C. Hawkes, *Archaeological Theory and Method: Some Suggestions from the Old World*, in *American Anthropologist* LVI (1954), pp. 155-168.

<sup>14</sup> G. E. Daniel, *The Idea of Prehistory* (1964), p. 132.

<sup>15</sup> Stuart Piggott, *Ancient Europe* (1965), p. 8.

tant to 'stimulate your imagination' in this manner. Guesses may well be wrong, but guesswork, if it is not allowed to run away with itself, is, I feel, better than an admission of complete defeat. At least I hope that any guesses I may make are free from the error rightly condemned by Professor Daniel.<sup>16</sup> It is certainly fallacious to assume 'that the identity of form between the artifacts of modern pre-literates and of prehistoric societies means not only probable identity of function in material culture, but also identity in the social structure and mental and spiritual beliefs of the two societies being compared'. The fact that you have the same sort of tools does not mean that you have the same sort of gods. But there are certain aspects of prehistoric cultures which are clearly connected with spiritual beliefs of some sort, and comparison of these aspects is rather different from comparison of artifacts. Tombs and grave-goods are artifacts, and must be treated as such, but matters such as the treatment and arrangement of the body, and the presence or absence of gravegoods, are not artifacts, and must be interpreted in a different way. If such matters are compared with similar arrangements in other societies, ancient or modern, this is an argument, not from similarity of rational technology to similarity of beliefs, but from similarity of non-rational behaviour to similarity of beliefs, a genuine attempt to interpret non-technological information in non-technological terms. We are now in a position where it is possible to trace in outline man's increasingly successful efforts to control his environment by technological, 'rational' methods. But clearly there is another side to the picture, a non-technological, non-rational side which cannot be ignored if we are to have a rounded view of pre-literate societies. Technological control in our own society has advanced so much that archaeologists often fail to understand, or even to see the need for, the non-technological approach. But this approach was an essential part of most, if not all, ancient societies, and if we are to understand these societies in human rather than merely technological terms, it is essential to follow up the clues provided by graves, cult-objects and so on. Guess-work it may be, but it is (I hope) controlled guesswork aimed at giving a fuller and more complete picture of ancient societies.

Of course even if there is some excuse for making ethnological

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<sup>16</sup> Daniel, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

comparisons, there are other difficulties which must be admitted and clearly understood. First, a great deal of ethnological information, especially that used by scholars in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was gathered by travellers and missionaries who allowed their own ideas and prejudices to colour the information they collected. Often too they did not have sufficient knowledge of native languages to understand fully what was meant by talk on such subjects as the soul and the afterlife. Again it is easy to fall into the error of the 'scissors-and-paste' school of anthropology and simply comb one's sources for any snippets of information which happen to fit one's preconceived ideas, forcibly removing the selected customs from their social contexts and so rendering them completely meaningless. In this field the non-specialist is completely at the mercy of the experts, but modern anthropologists are very conscious of the dangers of their calling, and very careful to avoid the errors of their predecessors. Still, it must be admitted that ethnological comparison is both difficult and dangerous. That however is not to say that it should not be attempted.

The custom of double burial is by no means unique. It is so widely distributed about the world that it is unlikely, if not impossible, that all instances have a common origin. It is much more probable that they have risen from similar reactions to similar situations, and if so the examination of other instances may help us in interpreting the evidence from Çatal Hüyük. For this purpose the best collection of evidence is to be found in a paper by Robert Hertz, published in 1907<sup>17</sup> and more recently translated into English by Rodney and Claudia Needham.<sup>18</sup> In this paper Hertz illustrates the custom of double burial primarily in Indonesia but also in other communities, and then draws conclusions

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<sup>17</sup> R. Hertz, *Contribution à une étude sur la représentation collective de la mort*, in *L'Année Sociologique* X (1907), pp. 48-137.

<sup>18</sup> *A Contribution to the Study of the Collective Representation of Death*, in R. Hertz, *Death and the Right Hand* (1960). It may seem dangerous to use as primary evidence an article which appeared as long ago as 1907, but I take courage from the fact that it has been republished by translators who are themselves experts in the Indonesian field, and who consider that the evidence and conclusions are sufficiently valid to justify such publication. A more recent treatment of the subject is to be found in W. Stöhr, *Das Totenritual der Dajak*, in *Ethnologica* NF 1 (1959). The attitude of professional anthropologists towards this work and that of Hertz can be well seen in the reviews on successive pages of *American Anthropologist* 63 (1961), pp. 599-602.

on the nature of the rites. Although his conclusions should not be accepted uncritically,<sup>19</sup> it is easy to see how important Hertz's work is for a fuller understanding of Çatal Hüyük. Perhaps a brief summary will illustrate this more clearly.

Among the Dayak of Borneo a dead body is not taken at once to its final burial-place. The bodies of chiefs and wealthy people are kept in their houses. (So much for hygiene!) Lesser bodies are laid either in a miniature wooden house raised on piles or, more often, on a kind of platform simply covered by a roof. Sometimes this is near the house, but more often it is in a distant part of the forest. The houses of the dead are light structures like those used by the Dayak when they have to live temporarily by their more distant rice-fields. Once placed in its house, the body remains there until it decomposes, sometimes for seven or eight months, sometimes for as much as ten years, and during this period the survivors have certain duties to perform. As the body putrefies, they have to collect the putrefaction and see that it drains into the ground, or into pottery vessels. In some cases they smear it on their bodies, or mix it with rice and eat it. They also keep the body company, give it food, keep a fire constantly burning, and beat gongs to keep malignant spirits at bay.

When the period of exposure is completed and the time has come for the final burial, the bones are brought back to the village and placed either in the dead man's house, which is richly decorated, or in a house specially erected for the occasion. There they are washed and any flesh still clinging to them is removed. They are then put into a new wrapping, which is often of a rich and precious kind, and laid on a sort of catafalque. The most precious family treasures are placed near the bones, to ensure the dead an opulent life in the other world. Invitations to the final burial are sent out to all the surrounding tribes, and are never refused. When the guests arrive, priestesses take the wrapped-up bones in their arms and parade them inside the feast-house for two whole days, singing all the time. The festival starts quietly and solemnly, but after the final burial of the bones it ends in singing, drinking and feasting. In fact the burial-feast may last up to a month. It requires a great deal of preparation and may reduce the

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<sup>19</sup> See for instance E. E. Evans-Pritchard in his introduction to the English translation and in *Theories of Primitive Religion* (1965), pp. 48-77.

family of the deceased to extreme poverty. So it is often held for several deceased persons at one time, or repeated at regular intervals—every three years, for instance—for all those who have died in the meantime. The bones are finally placed in coffins, or in urns, or wrapped in cloth, and deposited in special houses, some near the houses of the living, others at a distance but on land specially reserved for the family. Thus the second burial is collective, or at least familial, in contrast to the first burial, which is usually isolated. In some communities the bones are given a permanent place in the house of the living. In the Malay Archipelago this happens mainly when chiefs or important people are buried, and it is almost always the head alone which enjoys the privilege. It is decorated and placed inside the house or in a small niche close to it. In certain cases it is offered food or anointed with a special liquid; it is part of the family's sacred treasure and ensures its prosperity.

This then is the way in which the Dayak and other peoples dispose of their dead. But a funeral ceremony, as Hertz is careful to point out,<sup>20</sup> concerns not only the body of the dead, but also his soul, and it is also of vital importance to the living who are left to mourn. It is worth while considering these aspects too, for in looking at them we may find a fuller understanding of the Çatal Hüyük ritual. The soul of the deceased does not reach its final destination as soon as the body dies. It passes through a sort of probationary period while the body is decomposing, and only when decomposition is complete is it fully admitted to the realms of the dead. During the intermediate period it has to return to the earth for food which is provided by the mourners, who, as we have seen, remain by the body for this purpose. The offering particularly favoured by the soul is that of a human head, but even this does not ensure its full passage to the world of the dead until after the final ceremony. So as the body sheds its impurity and is gradually reduced to its most permanent state, the soul also has to wait to reach its final destination. During this period the deceased is not regarded as being really dead. The soul is a frequent visitor to the corpse, and is a dangerous and malicious being. It has to rely on its relatives for its food, and meanwhile it remembers all the wrongs it suffered in life and tries to avenge them. So the mourners are required to be punc-

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<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 34ff.



tilious in their attendance on the body or malignant diseases will descend on them, inflicted by the angry soul. In the presence of such danger they are deserted by men and protective spirits alike, for death is contagious and pollutes everything it touches. Often the dead man's property has to be destroyed, or dedicated to him and buried with him, or ritually purified. Often too the only way of removing the obligations of mourning is the sacrifice of a human victim. This is normally a slave or a war-prisoner who has previously been magically deprived of his soul, thus freeing the community from the possibility of any disaster which that angry spirit could inflict. The victim is chained to a sacrificial post, and the male relatives of the deceased act as sacrificers, dancing and leaping around the victim and striking him at random with their spears. The screams of pain are greeted with shouts of joy, for the more cruel the torture the happier the souls are in heaven. When the victim finally falls he is decapitated amid screams of intense joy, his blood is collected by a priestess and sprinkled on the living, and the head is either stuck on a post near the final burial or buried with the deceased.

Mention has already been made of the ritual parade of priestesses carrying the parcels of bones. These priestesses are also thought to carry with them the souls of the mourners wrapped in their aprons, to raise them to heaven and to persuade the beneficent spirits to regenerate them and give them full life again. Thereafter the mourners are ritually purified and freed from the contagion of death by bathing in the river. Sometimes the blood of sacrificial victims is poured into the water, and as the mourners swim to the bank the priestesses, who accompany them in boats, thrust aside evil influences from their bodies with burning torches and sacred brooms. Thereafter they are able to return freely to normal life. They make their toilet, change their clothes for new ones, and put on their best swords and ornaments. 'It can be seen', as Hertz says,<sup>21</sup> that there is a complete parallelism between the rites which introduce the deceased, washed and dressed in new clothes, into the company of his ancestors, and those which return his family to the company of the living: or rather it is one and the same act of liberation applied to two different categories of persons'.

So we see that the ceremony on the occasion of the final burial is

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<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

not merely a hygienic disposal of the bones. As well as the burial of the remains it ensures for the soul peace and access to the land of the dead, and for the living freedom from the obligations of mourning. Behind the act of double burial lies something of much wider and deeper significance. As the bones are removed from isolation and placed in a communal tomb, so the soul is removed from the isolation of its probationary period and admitted to the communion of ancestors; so too the mourners are freed from their isolation and admitted once more to the community. The burial rite is at the same time death and rebirth. It is not a farewell to a finally departed member of the community, but a rite of initiation to a higher status. Like birth, coming-of-age and marriage, it marks the passage of the individual from one group to another.

The soul incidentally does not remain eternally in the spirit-world. After staying there for a period of seven generations it 'descends on earth again and enters a mushroom or a fruit, preferably near the village. When a woman eats this fruit or mushroom the soul enters her body and is soon reborn in human form. But if the fruit is eaten by certain animals, a buffalo, a deer or a monkey, the soul will be reincarnated in an animal body; should this animal be eaten by man, the soul will return among humanity by this detour'.<sup>22</sup> Death is not an event of complete finality, but an endlessly repeated episode.

It is interesting to note that some categories of people are excluded from the normal funerary ritual. Hertz mentions<sup>23</sup> first children, who are not fully separated from the spirit world and so can return directly to it, secondly the very old, who are already well on their way to the other world and have no need of external aids, and thirdly those who have died violently or by accident. Their bodies inspire the most intense horror, and are got rid of with all possible speed. Their bones are not laid with those of the other members of the group, and their souls live apart from the others, forming a special community which is regarded as that of either 'the Damned' or 'the Elect'.

Hertz's final conclusion is that the custom of double burial ultimately reflects the fact that it takes a society a great deal of time to adjust to the death of one of its members. 'In the final analysis, death as a social

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<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.

phenomenon consists in a dual and painful process of mental disintegration and synthesis. It is only when this process is completed that society, less its peace recovered, can triumph over death'.<sup>24</sup> Conclusions of this sort are, as Professor Evans-Pritchard has pointed out,<sup>25</sup> difficult either to confirm or to refute, but there is little doubt that even if this social reintegration is not the purpose of the custom, it is one of its important results. It is impossible, at least by current research methods, to check on whether the soul does in fact reach its new life, but it is possible to check on the mourners, and there is no doubt that they do. To this extent at least Hertz's conclusion seems to be a valid one.

Whether or not the purpose of double burial is ultimately a social one it is, to those who make use of it, based on interesting ideas of the connection between life and the body. The body is obviously impermanent. It begins to change as soon as what we call life ceases, and continues to change until it reaches a state of permanence in the clean, fleshless skeleton. So it is felt that at least a part of the life or soul of the deceased resides in the bones, and especially in the skull, which in life is the seat of taste, smell, sight, hearing and speech, most of the functions which go to make up the living personality. Just as in life a man is a member of a community, so too when he dies he does not cease to be a member of that community, and his body, and especially his skeleton, has to be treated like any other member. It has to be protected and given its rights, and because of its connection with the spirit world it is rather more powerful than most living members. The bones, if you like, are 'sacred' or 'magically potent'. Their retention within the community will bring good fortune, while their ill-treatment or desecration by enemies will bring disaster. Hence it is important to protect them and benefit from their proximity, by keeping them within the house, by wearing them, or by pulverising them and rubbing them into the skin or eating them.

What conclusions can we draw from this for Çatal Hüyük? It will by now be clear that much of the evidence from the site can well be interpreted in terms of the type of thought we have been discussing. Primary excarnation is virtually certain, and the existence of light

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<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 86.

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.*, n. 19, p. 76.

structures in which this took place is a reasonable guess. Final burial was clearly given at a set time rather than when individual decomposition was completed, and this suggests a 'Feast of Souls' such as we have seen in Indonesia and other parts of the world. At this feast there is evidence for the cleaning and redressing of the bones, for the laying of precious personal objects in the graves, and for the decoration of at least some bones. Burial under the bed means both protection for the skeletons and benefit for those who sleep above them,<sup>26</sup> and the disturbance of earlier burials by later ones suggests that eventually the power residing in bones wore out or departed, perhaps to a rebirth in a new body.<sup>27</sup> In some graves there was a preponderance of skulls, and this may mean either that when old bones were thrown out the skulls were still felt to have power, or, more probably, that the skulls were those of sacrificial victims for the liberation of the living and the well-being of the dead. The complete replastering of houses after burials has been taken to show that the 'Feast of Souls' took place in the spring, the normal time for less redecoration. Whether this is true or not, the replastering was not simply spring-cleaning, but visible evidence of the cleansing and purification of the house of the deceased. The purpose of the 'vulture-shrine' remains enigmatic: the skulls which lay on the floor of the shrine may have been those either of prominent citizens or of sacrificial victims; the humans dressed as vultures (if they existed) may have been the Anatolian equivalent of the Indonesian priestesses who carry with them at the final burial ceremony both the bones of the dead and the souls of the living, and finally free the latter and return them to normal life. This shrine may

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<sup>26</sup> The burial practices at Çatal Hüyük and other ancient sites have often been described as 'ancestor-worship', but this, I think, is a misunderstanding of the evidence. Ancestors in such cases are not worshipped as (say) the Christian God is worshipped; they have, like other groups, their place and their rights within the community, and their maintenance, like that of other groups, is vital for the well-being of the community as a whole. It is worth stressing again that death is not completely final, but a passage to a higher status within the community.

<sup>27</sup> The pictorial representation of rebirth is perhaps to be seen in two paintings (AS XIII, p. 69, Figs. 11 & 12, and Plates XIb & XII) in which, it has been suggested, the soul is portrayed in the form of a bee or butterfly. For a discussion of this see AS XIII, pp. 80-81, and B. C. Dietrich, *op. cit.*, n. 2, pp. 410-413. If the suggestion is accepted, the apparent presence of a chrysalis attached to the roof of the 'charnel-house' where bones were exposed for excarnation (AS XIII, p. 98 and Plate XXVIa) is extremely significant.

in fact have been the place where the cleansing ceremonies in connection with the final burial were carried out.

It has already been mentioned that there are far more women and children than adult males in the graves, and the excavator has suggested<sup>28</sup> that this may be due to the fact that many men were killed while away from home on hunting expeditions. We are reminded that in Indonesia and elsewhere those who have died violently or by accident find no resting-place with the bones of the family.

Are all these resemblances purely accidental, or can we see at Çatal Hüyük yet another example of the beliefs which have been found in so many other communities? Can we suppose that as in those communities these beliefs were reflected in ritual? Dare we imagine at Çatal Hüyük a conception of the long-drawn-out passage of souls to the world of their ancestors, and allied to it the guarding and tendance of exposed bodies, the gathering of putrefaction-liquids, the feasting and drinking of the Festival of Souls, the violent and sanguinary sacrifice of human

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<sup>28</sup> AS XIV, p. 93. This idea is treated in greater detail in AS XVI, p. 191, in connection with the 'Hunting Shrines' F V i (AS XVI, pp. 184-90) and A III i (AS XII, pp. 62-65). These shrines are decorated with wall-paintings which show large animals, especially bull and stag, surrounded by human figures apparently dancing and, in some cases, leaping on the animals' backs or swinging on their tails, horns or tongues. There is no indication that the animals are being hunted or killed; on the contrary, the scenes look much more like festivities of some kind, with dancing and acrobatics as an essential part of them. The two shrines also differ from the normal rule in containing only female burials, and the excavator suggests that they were cenotaphs, shrines built in memory of hunters killed 'in action', whose bodies had not been recovered, and whose widows were buried alone, accompanied by painted representations of heroic deeds attributed to their husbands in this world or the next. There is an element of truth in this, but I feel that these paintings are something more than mere memorials of imaginary heroic deeds. The bodies of those who are killed by accident or violence cannot be brought back into the home, presumably because they are charged with 'mana'; they have touched power and been blasted by it, and thus cannot be readmitted without danger to the community at large. But this touching of power, though dangerous, is not necessarily bad, and so even if the actual bodies of the blasted have to be left in isolation, they can at least be symbolically restored in art. So they are portrayed on the walls, but the situations in which they are shown are not so much acts of heroism as a means of illustrating symbolically the close and personal relationship which in a society of this type exists between men and animals. The enormous size of the animals in relation to the humans must, I feel, be an example of the frequent convention which equates large size with superior power (e.g. Pharaohs in Egyptian art are taller than the mere mortals who accompany them).

victims, and the final purification of mourners in the blood-red waters of the nearby Çarşamba Çay? <sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> In this article I have deliberately refrained from commenting on such matters as the Jericho 'skull-cult', the 'skull-cult' of Palaeolithic man, the custom of secondary burial in earthen long barrows in Neolithic Britain, the accompaniment of the dead by 'slaughtered retainers' in the same region and period, the custom of 'cephalotaphy' among the Beaker People, and much other material of the same type. If my initial comparison is acceptable, my conclusion may be of assistance in interpreting these and other aspects of prehistoric religion.



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The Ἀσσύριοι Λόγοι of Herodotus and Their Position in the Histories

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## THE Ἀσσύριοι Λόγοι OF HERODOTUS AND THEIR POSITION IN THE *HISTORIES*\*

The question of the Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι<sup>1</sup> of Herodotus has been discussed so often that it is scarcely necessary to repeat the evidence for it. This consists basically of two statements in Book 1 of the *Histories*:

- (a) 1.106.2. καὶ τὴν τε Νῶνον εἶλον (ὥς δὲ εἶλον, ἐν ἑτέροις λόγοις δηλώσω) καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ὑποχειρίους ἐποίησαντο.
- (b) 1.184. τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος ταύτης πολλοὶ μὲν κου καὶ ἄλλοι ἐγένοντο βασιλεῖς, τῶν ἐν τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοις λόγοις μνήμην ποιήσομαι, οἷα τὰ τεῖχεά τε ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρά, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκες δύο.

We can, I think, be certain of one thing only — that when Herodotus wrote these two passages he intended to keep the promises which he was making. In addition it is perhaps reasonable to assume that his account of the capture of Nineveh, which he promises merely ἐν ἑτέροις λόγοις, would as a decisive event in Assyrian history have been included in the Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι mentioned in 1.184. Even this however must be a mere conjecture, for although Herodotus normally makes promises and keeps them,<sup>2</sup> in these two cases the details promised are nowhere to be found in the *Histories* as we have them.

For this there are several possible explanations.

(1) Herodotus intended the Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι to be a separate work which was either never written, or completed and later lost. This view has had support in the past,<sup>3</sup> but is basically unlikely. There seems little reason to suppose that other λόγοι referred to in exactly the same way by Herodotus should have been included in his work, while only the Assyrian λόγοι were set aside for separate treatment. That Herodotus would have done this, as suggested by Stein, because he felt that the account of Assyrian history was less connected with that of Persia than any other of his similar digressions, seems completely uncharacteristic of everything else that we know of him.

(2) Herodotus did indeed intend when he made his promises to include the details mentioned in the two passages elsewhere in the *Histories*, but in the end did not do so,<sup>4</sup> perhaps because there were always grave practical difficulties

\* In revising this article I have been helped by the many valuable comments of the referee consulted by the editors.

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus uses the term 'Assyria' to indicate what he knew as the Persian satrapy of Assyria. This included not only Assyria proper (the steppe-country of northern Iraq centred on the Tigris near modern Mosul) but also Babylonia (southern Iraq from below Baghdad to the Persian Gulf). See, for instance, 1.106, 178, 192, 193; 3.92; 4.39. In terms of Mesopotamian history, of course, Assyria and Babylonia were separate political entities, although at different times the Assyrians were masters of Babylon, or the Babylonians of Assyria. For a fuller account

of their relationship see J. G. Macqueen, *Babylon* (London, 1964) and *Assyria* (forthcoming).

<sup>2</sup> For a list of fulfilled promises see H. Drexler, *Herodot-Studien* (Hildesheim, 1972), pp. 252–3. There is one other unfulfilled promise, in 7.213.3, but this concerns a minor detail (the murder of Epialtes), which could fairly easily have been overlooked.

<sup>3</sup> H. Stein, *Herodotos*<sup>6</sup> i (Berlin, 1901), xlvii ff.

<sup>4</sup> H. R. Immerwahr, *Form and Thought in Herodotus* (Cleveland, 1966), p. 31: 'the Assyrian *logoi*, which were probably never written'.



facing an ancient author who wanted to refer back to an earlier passage in his work, and promises made in an early section could therefore easily be forgotten,<sup>5</sup> or for some other reason, unknown and unknowable, about which we need not bother our heads.<sup>6</sup> In either of these cases the Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι are an illusion, and the text of the *Histories* as we have it contains no significant omission. Yet it is curious, to say the least, that two of the three unfulfilled promises in the work are for something as large as an entire λόγος. Minor omissions and contradictions are certainly to be expected, but the non-appearance of a whole section, twice promised in the early part of the work, is much more surprising, and would seem to imply that Herodotus, having finished his work, never in fact read it through in its completed form. To suggest that he died before he could do so is at best a counsel of despair.

(3) Herodotus did not in fact promise any Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι other than what we have in 1. 178–200, and our expectation of further details of Assyrian kings is based on a misunderstanding of 1.184.<sup>7</sup> In this passage τῶν is to be taken as a partitive genitive and the sentence is to be translated: ‘Among the many Babylonian kings, of whom I shall mention in my Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι (i.e. now) *only those* who built walls and temples, there were also two women.’ To this there are two overwhelming objections:<sup>8</sup> (a) The genitive following μνήμην ποιέσθαι in Herodotus always indicates the object remembered, and is not partitive.<sup>9</sup> (b) Herodotus does not in fact mention any kings who built walls and temples,<sup>10</sup> and so the promise is still unfulfilled. As well as this, the theory fails to account for the promise to describe the capture of Nineveh, and must be considered highly improbable.

If we dismiss these three explanations, we are driven to assume what has seemed to many to be the obvious conclusion, that Herodotus did in fact write Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι which dealt with the kings of Assyria and the fall of Nineveh, but that they do not appear in the work as we have it. If this is so there are two further possible explanations.

(4) The Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι were included in an early version of Herodotus’ work, and were later deliberately deleted by him. Thus Powell<sup>11</sup> argues that the

<sup>5</sup> R. Lattimore, *Classical Philology* 53 (1958), 19.

<sup>6</sup> Drexler, op. cit., p. 253: ‘Ueber den Grund der Unterlassung sich den Kopf zu zerbrechen ist zwecklos’.

<sup>7</sup> H. Erbse, *Gnomon* 41 (1969), 126, citing Focke (*Tübinger Beiträge* 1 (1927), 14–19) as being ‘auf dem richtigen Weg’.

<sup>8</sup> Drexler, op. cit., p. 253.

<sup>9</sup> J. E. Powell, *A Lexicon to Herodotus* (Cambridge, 1938), lists seven other passages where the phrase μνήμην ποιέσθαι occurs.

In six of these (1.15; 2.102.1; 4.16.1; 5.74.2; 6.19.3; 6.55) the following genitive indicates the object mentioned or remembered, while in the other (1.193.4) the phrase is followed by a noun-clause and no genitive is used. The phrase μνήμην ἔχειν is used in a similar way. There are five examples (1.14.1; 2.43.3, 56.2; 4.79.2, 81.2), all of which show a genitive of the object mentioned or

remembered. 6.122.1 also contains μνήμην ἔχειν with a genitive similarly used, but the passage is probably not to be attributed to Herodotus.

<sup>10</sup> It is noticeable for instance that no credit for building operations is given to ‘Labynetos’, especially if his arbitration after the eclipse-battle between the Medes and the Lydians in 585 B.C. (1.74.3) is taken to show that Herodotus uses the name to indicate Nebuchadnezzar (605–562 B.C.) as well as Nabonidus (556–539 B.C.). It is difficult to believe that Herodotus would have made no reference to the monarch who was responsible for most of the building-work which he saw and admired. My own feeling is that ‘Labynetos’ would have been given a good deal of space in the Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι.

<sup>11</sup> J. E. Powell, *The History of Herodotus* (Cambridge, 1939), chapters II and III.

'*Ἀσσύρωι λόγοι* were composed for a 'Persian History' which preceded the 'Persian Wars' (our version), and that when Herodotus adapted them for his final version, deleting much and retaining only what we have in 1. 178–200, he forgot to delete the two forward references as well. This argument is inextricably tied up with Powell's theories on the origins and development of the work as a whole, but even if his arguments are accepted (and there are many who would not accept them) we are still left with the basic unlikelihood of Herodotean forgetfulness.

(5) The '*Ἀσσύρωι λόγοι* were originally included in the final version of the *Histories* (basically what we now have), but have been lost from our text at a later period. The loss of a section of an ancient author is by no means an uncommon occurrence. In order to justify the suggestion in this case, two types of evidence are necessary:

- (a) Internal evidence for a break in the text as we have it.
- (b) The attribution to Herodotus by other ancient authors of information on Assyria which is not now included in our text.

If we may deal with point (a) first, the initial problem is to decide where in Herodotus the '*Ἀσσύρωι λόγοι* would most probably have occurred. One possibility is that Book 9 as we have it is incomplete, and the '*Ἀσσύρωι λόγοι* formed part of the lost ending.<sup>12</sup> This is no place to discuss the arguments for and against such a loss, but I feel it can be maintained with some confidence that even if a lost ending ever existed, the inclusion of '*Ἀσσύρωι λόγοι* at this late point in Herodotus' narrative is wholly improbable. The same is really true of another suggestion, that the '*Ἀσσύρωι λόγοι* were linked with the capture of Babylon by Darius, and placed at the end of Book 3.<sup>13</sup> Thus Henry Wood suggests that the function of such a *λόγος*

would have been to underline the final cohesion of Persian power by demonstrating the greatness and antiquity of the Assyrians. The significance of the first conquest of Babylon by Cyrus is repeated in the second, only with greater finality, as is appropriate to the situation, and therefore a long excursus on Assyria would be a fitting colophon to the first half of the *Histories*, the subject of which is the rise and consolidation of the Empire from Cyrus to Darius, prior to the expeditions into Europe. But to the conquest of Egypt was appropriated the role originally intended for Babylon, while Darius' reign is of a somewhat ambiguous nature. Not only does he achieve the final consolidation of Persian power, but ALSO begins the series of campaigns in Europe which culminate in the great reversal of the Persian empire. His reign is therefore the real turning point of Persian history (not the symbolic turning point, as was the end of Cyrus' reign) . . . Darius' reconquest of Babylon clinches his reestablishment of the Empire and ends the first part of Persian history: the ensuing part is concerned with events leading to the wars between Greece and Persia and the final reversal at Salamis.<sup>14</sup>

I do not find this argument convincing. The normal place for an extended account of an area is in the context of its initial conquest by Persia, and the primary reason (whether admitted or not)<sup>15</sup> for placing the '*Ἀσσύρωι λόγοι* elsewhere is that there are several objections to inserting '*Ἀσσύρωι λόγοι* in what seems

<sup>12</sup> M. Ebert, *Zur Frage nach der Beendigung des Herodoteischen Geschichtswerkes* (Keil, 1911).

<sup>13</sup> W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* (Oxford, 1912), Vol. i, p. 380.

<sup>14</sup> Henry Wood, *The Histories of*

*Herodotus* (The Hague, 1972), p. 87.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Powell, op. cit., p. 22: 'Since, therefore, the '*Ἀσσύρωι λόγοι* were not attached to the first capture of Babylon, there is no alternative to concluding that their original connection was with the second.'

to be the obvious place — the capture of Babylon by Cyrus in Book 1. These objections are:

(i) Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι already exist in this position, and the more explicit of the forward references (1.184) in fact occurs within these λόγοι.

(ii) Even if one assumes that the existing λόγοι in this position are but part I of an originally longer section, no sign of a break in the text can be detected at the end of 1.200, the point at which most scholars who give support to this theory would assume such a break.<sup>16</sup>

(iii) The accounts of the first capture of Babylon and of the campaign against the Massagetae are parallel in structure, and this structural parallelism would be spoiled by the addition of material dealing with Assyrian history after 1.200.<sup>17</sup>

Of these objections, (iii) causes least difficulty. Immerwahr gives as instances of the parallelism (a) the splitting of the ethnographic material, with the portion put initially of great importance for the campaign: (b) in each campaign Cyrus fights the son of a woman who outsmarts him. He adds that this parallelism 'is meant to underline the contrast of fortune in the two campaigns: this is a favourite device of Herodotus.' I would agree that stress on such contrasts of fortune is an important part of Herodotean technique, but cannot see the 'striking parallelism' of which Immerwahr speaks. On point (a), the ethnographic material is split in each case (as Immerwahr says) purely because the information given in the earlier part is important for an understanding of the campaign-narrative which follows, and is in no real sense a deliberately contrived structural parallelism. As for point (b), I fail to observe any parallelism of any kind. The mother-son relationship is of vital importance for the story of the campaign against the Massagetae, and of no importance at all for the story of the capture of Babylon. The parallelism which Immerwahr detects in it is completely illusory, and in no way 'mitigates against Myres' idea that the missing Assyrian *logoi* were intended for the first ethnographic *logos* on Babylon'.<sup>18</sup>

In considering objections (i) and (ii) it is perhaps worth while to look more closely at the account of Egypt in Book 2,<sup>19</sup> in order to determine more closely the overall shape and contents of a fully known λόγος. This account begins with a long section (2. 2-98) dealing with such matters as origins, geography, customs (νόμοι), and 'wonders' (θώματα, θωμάσια). In this section historical details related to specific rulers occur only incidentally, and are linked to the matter in hand at the time, as when Psammetichus' experiment (2.2) is used to prove the erroneousness of the theory that the Egyptians are the world's oldest people, or when the same ruler's practical test is quoted to illustrate the bottomless nature of the Nile sources. Then at 2.99 comes a change: μέχρι μὲν τούτου ὅψις τε ἐμὴ καὶ γνώμη καὶ ἱστορίη ταῦτα λέγουσα ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Αἰγυπτίους ἐρχομαι λόγους ἐρέων κατὰ τὸ ἤκουον. προσέσται δέ τι αὐτοῖσι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὀψιος. Following this there comes a historical account of rulers in chronological order starting from Min, the first king. It is this historical account, based on kings and their achievements, to which Herodotus refers in the words

<sup>16</sup> e.g. J. L. Myres, *Herodotus Father of History* (Oxford, 1953), p. 95: 'For Egypt, the dynastic history follows the geographical description; and there is nothing to preclude such a history of Babylonia after I 200.'

<sup>17</sup> Immerwahr, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-3.

<sup>18</sup> Immerwahr, *op. cit.*, p. 93, n. 42.

<sup>19</sup> A new edition of Book 2 (Alan B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II* (Leiden, 1975, 1976) is at present in course of publication, but has not yet reached 2.99.

Αιγυπτίους λόγους . . . κατὰ τὸ ἴκουνον. In other words Αιγύπτιοι λόγοι in this context consist of historical details of the kings of Egypt. It would not be unreasonable to assume that ἐν τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοις λόγοις in 1.184 has a similar meaning, and refers to a similar section, following the geography, customs, and wonders of chapters 178–99, and containing details of Assyrian rulers and their deeds. As Psammetichus is mentioned in the earlier part of the Egyptian account, so the two female rulers of Assyria are included in the earlier part of the Assyrian account because of their 'wonders' (ἀξιοθέητα, 1.184; ἄξιον θώματος, 1.185.3). But basically the list of rulers is reserved for the second part, the Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι.

If we turn now to the section (1.200) which ought to correspond to the *volta* in the account of Egypt, we may expect to find a μέν . . . δέ construction like that of 2.99. And indeed we do. But when we find it, it is a considerable surprise. The first half certainly corresponds to that of the Egyptian account: νόμοι μέν δὴ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοις οὗτοι κατεστάσι. But the second is completely different. Instead of something corresponding to the δέ-section of the Egyptian passage, what we find is: εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτῶν πατριαὶ<sup>20</sup> τρεῖς αἱ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σιτέονται εἰ μὴ ἰχθὺς μόνον. Three fish-eating clans, added as a complete afterthought!<sup>21</sup> Even if we have no expectation of a δέ-clause introducing historical detail, the fish-eaters are completely out of place in the context. Here, if anywhere, is the point at which a possible break could have occurred.

Once our attention is focused on this passage, other possible indications of a break can be seen. At 1.153. 3–4 Cyrus leaves Sardis for Ecbatana: ἥ τε γὰρ Βαβυλῶν οἱ ἦν ἐμπόδιος καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἐπ' οὓς ἐπεῖχε τε στρατηλατέω αὐτός, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνας ἄλλον πέμπειν στρατηγόν. The general who dealt with the Ionians was Harpagus, and at the end of his campaigns Herodotus turns again to Cyrus (1.177): τὰ μέν νυν κάτω τῆς Ἀσίας Ἀρπαγος ἀνάστατα ἐποίηε, τὰ δὲ ἄνω αὐτῆς αὐτὸς Κύρος, πᾶν ἔθνος καταστρεφόμενος καὶ οὐδὲν παριείς. That the words πᾶν ἔθνος καταστρεφόμενος in this passage are to be taken to include τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος καὶ Σάκαι is supported not only by 1.153. 3–4 above, but also by 3.88: Δαρεῖός τε δὴ ὁ Ὑστάσπεος βασιλεὺς ἀπεδέδεκτο, καὶ οἱ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ πάντες κατήκοοι πλὴν Ἀραβίων, Κύρου τε καταστρεψ-ἀμένου καὶ ὕστερον αὐτὶς Καμβύσεω. This passage, it will be noted, is followed by a list of satrapies which includes Bactrians and Sacae. 'Of the greater part of these conquests', Herodotus continues in 1.77, 'I will say nothing. τὰ δὲ οἱ παρέσχε τε πόνον πλείστον καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατά ἐστι, τούτων ἐπιμνήσομαι.' He

<sup>20</sup> πατριή is used in the sense of 'clan' only here in Herodotus. Elsewhere it means 'lineage' (cf. 2.143.1; 3.75.1), but it is difficult to see how in this passage it can refer to anything other than groups of people linked by some sort of relationship through the male line. It is attested in this sense in inscriptions of the fifth century B.C. (cf. *LSJ* s.v.). While it is possible that the passage refers to groups of people who for social or religious reasons actively abstained from eating anything but fish, there is, as far as I am aware, no evidence for such groups in Babylonia, whereas other passages in Herodotus (e.g. 3.98) point towards dwellers in marshy areas who eat nothing but fish because there is virtually nothing else in such areas

for them to eat.

<sup>21</sup> This passage seems to me to be completely different from other passages such as 4.30 (why there are no mules in Elis) or 7.170 (information on Micythus of Rhegium). Both these latter passages are not so much afterthoughts as digressions giving information which is not, strictly speaking, necessary to the matter in hand, after which Herodotus apologizes and returns to his original subject. Not so here; the passage cannot be said to contain a piece of information which is interesting but largely irrelevant. Rather it seems to me to contain information which is relevant, but not in the position in which we find it.

then goes on to the account of Babylon and Assyria (1. 178–200), and at the end of this (assuming no break) turns (chapter 201) to the conquest of the Massagetae. Here again it is important to consider the text:

ὥς δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος κατέργαστο, ἐπεθύμησε Μασσαγέτας ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο καὶ μέγα λέγεται εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, οἰκημένον δὲ πρὸς ἡῷ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς, πέρην τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ, ἀντίον δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων ἀνδρῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ οὔτινες καὶ Σκυθικὸν λέγουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι.

In all this there is no word of the Bactrians or the Sacae. The narrative moves directly from Babylon to a tribe which lives beyond these peoples, and which could not have been attacked without their previous subjugation. As we have seen, there is no reason to suppose that the conquest of the Bactrians and the Sacae by Cyrus did not take place. The only explanation can be that these extensive campaigns provided Cyrus with little *πόνος*, and that nothing took place during them which was *ἀξιαπήγητον* (1.177). This is by no means impossible, and indeed must be the case if we accept the text as it stands. But there is one feature of 1.201 which may perhaps give us pause, and that is the *καί* in the final sentence. This is normally taken with the preceding relative: 'And there are some *too* who say this people is Scythian.' But there is, I feel, a certain amount of doubt about this. According to Denniston,<sup>22</sup> when *καί* is adverbial 'it normally comes next before the emphatic word', and the 'frequent exceptions' which he quotes are all examples of other words coming between *καί* and the emphatic word rather than of *καί* being preceded by it. In fact, according to Denniston, 'that *καί* can follow the word it emphasises seems doubtful'. It may be argued that the word-order can be different when a relative pronoun is involved, but examples in Herodotus seem to suggest that in such cases *καί* is used in a rather different way. First, *καί* can stress the reality of what is described in the relative clause. Examples of this usage are: 2.65. 2, τὰ δὲ καὶ εἵρηκα . . . ἀναγκαίῃ εἶπον; 'The things which I have *in fact* said, I said by necessity.' 1.74, ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον ἐν τῷ δῇ καὶ ἐγένετο; 'the year in which it *actually* did happen'. 6.10, οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες, ἐς τοὺς καὶ ἀπικοντο αὐταὶ αἱ ἀγγελίαι; 'the Ionians, to whom these messages did *indeed* come'. In these cases the *καί* immediately precedes the verb with which it is connected. Second, the *καί* can emphasize an immediately following noun. For this we may consider 4.107, εἵματα . . . μέλανα φορέουσι . . . ἐπ' ὧν καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχουσι; 'They wear black clothes, from which they take their name *too*' (as well as their dark appearance? Certainly not 'from which also (as well as from something else) they take their name). Consider also 4.183. 2, ἐν τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ὀπιθονόμοι βόες γίνονται; 'among whom are also the oxen which walk backwards as they graze'. The example now under discussion (1.201) seems to fall most naturally into the second of these categories, and may well be translated, 'And there are some who say this people is Scythian as well.' The question then arises: as well as what, or whom? As well as the Issedones? But they are not Scythians. They live beyond the bald-headed Argippeans, who dwell beyond the easternmost Scythians and speak non-Scythian languages.<sup>23</sup> As well as being great and powerful? As well as living towards the east? In either case it seems a very curious combination. As well as the people previously mentioned — i.e. τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος of the first sentence of chapter 201? Now if by τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος Herodotus

<sup>22</sup> J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford, 1954), pp. 325–7.

<sup>23</sup> 4.22–5.

means the Babylonians, this is obviously absurd. But if he means the Sacae? Herodotus does not have much to say about the Sacae in the text as we have it, but the 'Scythian Sacae' (Σάκαι οἱ Σκύθαι) appear in the army list of 7.64.<sup>24</sup> If the preceding section dealt with Scythians, the *καί* of the final sentence makes sense when taken closely with Σκυθικόν, and the only Scythians who could with any degree of probability be found in this context are the Sacae.

If this suggestion is accepted, it is clear that the three tribes of fish-eaters referred to in 1.200 are not to be identified with the marsh-dwellers of southern Iraq,<sup>25</sup> but with marsh-dwelling Sacae, probably somewhere in the region of the Caspian Sea. Both Herodotus (1.202) and Strabo (513) tell us that those tribes of the Massagetae who lived in the marshes of the Araxes were fish-eaters, and there may well have been other tribes in the same general area with similar eating-habits.<sup>26</sup>

There are then signs that all is not well with the text of 1.200, and that it would be reasonable to suggest that a section had fallen out at this point. This brings us to point (b), the attribution to Herodotus by other authors of information on Assyria which is not now included in our text. In this connection the best evidence comes from Aristotle (*Hist. An.* 8. 18, 601<sup>b</sup>);

τὰ μὲν οὖν γαμψώνυχα, καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, ὥς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἄποτα πάμπαν ἐστὶν · ἄλλ' ἢ Ἡσίοδος † ἡγνόει τοῦτο · πεποίηκε γὰρ τὸν τῆς μαντείας πρόεδρον ἀετὸν ἐν τῇ διηγήσει τῇ περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν τὴν Νίνου πίνοντα.

Ἡσίοδος *alii*: ἡρόδοτος *Da.*

The problem in this passage<sup>27</sup> is that although Ἡσίοδος is clearly wrong, and Ἡρόδοτος a highly probable emendation (supported by one manuscript), there is still an element of doubt which makes the passage insufficient in itself to justify the hypothesis of lost Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι. But in conjunction with the suggested break in 1.200 it does lend some support to the idea of a lost passage dealing with the history of Assyria. Other evidence, such as the passage in Eusebius where Herodotus is mentioned as though he were an authority on Assyrian king-lists, or the attribution to Herodotus by John Malalas of information on the Scythian character of Parthian dress and institutions, or the statement in the Synkellos that Kephalion in the second century A.D. followed Herodotus in his Assyrian history,<sup>28</sup> is of much less value, but does tend to point in the same direction.

If we may now summarize, the most probable conclusion to be drawn from

<sup>24</sup> Herodotus also tells us here that the Persians call all Scythians Sacae. The truth of this is confirmed by the inscriptions of the Achaemenid kings (e.g. Naqš-i-Rustam A). See R. G. Kent, *Old Persian Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* (New Haven, 1953), p. 137.

<sup>25</sup> Nor have they any connection with the 'Fish-eaters' who, according to Diodorus (3.15–22), inhabited the coast all the way from southern Persia to the entrance to the Red Sea. Fish-eaters in different parts of the world seem to have had a curious fascination for the Greeks. Herodotus for instance mentions them in Egypt (3.19) and in India (3.98) as well as in the present context.

<sup>26</sup> The suggestion that the Massagetae are etymologically 'fish-eaters' through a connection of their name with Avestan Masyō = fish (cf. *RE* s.v.) carries little conviction. Connections with the Thyssagetae (4.22 and 123) and thence with the Getae, the Goths, the Finns, and the Hungarians, are extremely speculative.

<sup>27</sup> For a full discussion see G. Huxley, *GRBS* 6 (1965), 207–12.

<sup>28</sup> Eusebius, *Arm. Chron.* p. 28, 28 ff. (ed. Karst); Malalas, p. 26 (ed. Dindorf); Kephalion, *FGrHist* 93 F 1. See Rawlinson's note on 1.106.

the evidence is that Herodotus did write an account of Assyrian history and include it in his *Histories*, and that this account originally followed the first sentence of 1.200, and was itself followed by accounts of the campaigns of Cyrus against the Bactrians and the Sacae (or at least of τὰ ἀξιαπηγητότατα of these campaigns), each account being supplemented by a survey of geography and νόμοι. The last item of the νόμοι of the Sacae was the description of the three fish-eating tribes which now forms the remainder of 1.200. The lost section then must have been of considerable length, but when and how it was lost from the text must remain matters for speculation.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Our uncertainty about the fortunes of the text of Herodotus in antiquity is well illustrated by the alternative readings Ἀλικαρνησσέος and Θουρίου in the introductory paragraph. Θουρίου was the accepted reading in the fourth century (Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3.9.1409<sup>a</sup>) and early third century

B.C. (Duris of Samos, *FGrHist* 76 f 64). By the early second century A.D. Ἀλικαρνησσέος had replaced Θουρίου (Plutarch, *Mor.* 604), presumably from another tradition which had survived through the intervening period. It may well have been in this version that the Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι were lost.

Nerik and Its "Weather-God"

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## NERIK AND ITS “WEATHER-GOD”

By J. G. MACQUEEN

Hittite geography and Hittite religion have for many years been among Oliver Gurney's principal interests. It therefore gives me the greatest pleasure that this small contribution in his honour deals with both these subjects, especially since the text with which it is mainly concerned is one which I first studied many years ago under his supervision. Like so many others, I owe him a debt of gratitude which can never be adequately repaid.

For many years now it has been clear that in any attempt to locate the site of Nerik the most important fact to be kept in mind is that the town was for a long period in the hands of the Gasga-peoples.<sup>1</sup> Their capture of it was allegedly in the reign of Hantilis, and it was calculated that five hundred years passed before it was recovered by Hattusilis III. More probably however it fell into enemy hands in the reign of Arnuwandas I and his queen Asmunikkal, shortly after 1450 B.C. But whatever the exact details may be, it has to be accepted that any town subjected to an extended period of Gasgan occupation must have been situated to the north of Hattusas, in the direction of the area known in Classical times as Pontus. More recently there has been further evidence pointing to a similar conclusion.<sup>2</sup> Fragments from the Annals of Mursilis, in giving details of campaigns in areas containing place-names elsewhere associated with Nerik or with the Gasga, make it clear that while operating in these areas the Hittite king was reasonably close to the sea – and in this context the sea in question can only be the Black Sea.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, in the Illuyankas-myth, which is closely associated with Nerik, the battle between the dragon and the Weather-god takes place in the sea.<sup>4</sup> Most important of all, the *evocatio* of the Weather-god of Nerik (*KUB XXXVI* 90), in listing places in the same general area as Nerik from which the god is to be summoned, includes the town of Zalpa;<sup>5</sup> and Zalpa, as has recently been shown,<sup>6</sup> is to be located on the Black Sea coast near the mouth of the Kızılırmak. It is perhaps to be identified with the mound of İkiştepe near Bafra, at present being excavated by Professor Dr U. Bahadır Alkım.

Thus the general area in which Nerik was situated is reasonably clear. It must have lain north of the defensive line which the Hittites for long periods of their history held against the Gasga; but in all probability it was not very far north of that line, for Hittite troops could campaign in its vicinity without being able to cross the *terra incognita* which lay between them and the sea,<sup>7</sup> and its recapture could be effected without any apparent large-scale invasion of the

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<sup>1</sup> For a full study of the Gasga-peoples and their history, see E. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* (Berlin 1965). A summary of the history of Nerik, and of its occupation by the Gasga-peoples, is to be found in V. Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik* (Rome 1970), 5 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Summarized by M. Forlanini, *L'Anatolia Nordoccidentale nell'Impero Eteo (Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici XVIII* (1977), 197–225), 200–201.

<sup>3</sup> See now Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate, Mursilis' North-Western Campaigns – Additional Fragments of his Comprehensive Annals concerning the Nerik Region: *Florilegium Anatolicum: Melanges Offerts à Emmanuel Laroche* (Paris 1979), 157–167.

<sup>4</sup> E. Laroche, *RHA* 77 (1965) 70 – A III 22 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> *KUB XXXVI* 90, Obv. 31.

<sup>6</sup> H. Otten, *Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa (SBoT* 17, 1973), 14–15, 57 sq.

<sup>7</sup> Houwink ten Cate, op. cit., 160 sqq.

further parts of the Gasga-lands.<sup>8</sup> The position of the Hittite/Gasga boundary-line is difficult to define with precision. Certainly one cannot make confident identifications for towns like Hattina and Hanhana, which were situated on or near it.<sup>9</sup> But if one can accept, as seems reasonable, the long-standing suggestion<sup>10</sup> that the important town of Hakkis is to be located at modern Amasya, then geographical considerations suggest that the most defensible line would be that which runs through Merzifon and Gümüşhacıköy, just south of the range of the Tavşan Dağ, to the Kızılırmak at Osmaniye. It is to the north of this line, therefore, that we ought to look for Nerik.

A new approach to the problem of fixing the position of Nerik was introduced by Güterbock in 1961,<sup>11</sup> when he made use of a passage from the *Beschwörungsritual KUB XXXVI 89*. This text, which is designed to bring the Weather-god of Nerik back to his home-town, contains a mythological passage which includes the following lines (rev. 11–14):

- 11 *zi-ik-ma-wa* <sup>1D</sup> [*Ma-ra-aš*] *ša-a[n-ta-aš A-N]A* <sup>D</sup>U URU *Ne-ri-ik* *Zi-ni ma-ni-in-ku-w[a-an-za]*  
 12 <sup>1D</sup> *Ma-ra-aš-ša-an-ta-aš-wa an-na-al-la-za* <sup>Δ</sup> *i-pa-at-tar-ma-ia-an a-ar-ša-aš*  
 13 <sup>D</sup>U *aš-ma-wa-ra-an wa-aḫ-nu-ut nu-wa-ra-an* <sup>D</sup>UTU-i DINGIR <sup>LM</sup> *-an ar-ša-nu-ut*  
 URU *Ne-r[i-ik-ki-wa-ra-an]*  
 14 *ma-an-ni-in-ku-wa-an ar-ša-nu-ut*

You, Marassantas, are close to the heart of the Weather-god of Nerik. Formerly the Marassantas flowed in another course; but the Weather-god turned it and made it flow towards the Sun-god of the gods; he made it flow near Nerik.

Güterbock in interpreting this passage takes it that the myth is aetiological, and that it seeks to explain why there is a sharp bend in the River Marassantas (i.e. the Kızılırmak) which makes it flow unexpectedly close to Nerik. He then points to the abrupt turn taken by the river near Kargı, and suggests that Nerik is to be located near this bend, on the slopes of the Adadağ, round which the river flows. Güterbock's suggestion is an attractive one, and has found a measure of support.<sup>12</sup> But it is based on textual evidence only, and has run into difficulties when confronted by the evidence of archaeological survey. A. M. Dinçol and J. Yakar have recently covered the area in detail, and have been unable to locate any settlements of the Hittite period in it.<sup>13</sup> It therefore seems necessary to abandon Güterbock's theory, and to look elsewhere. Dinçol and Yakar have suggested a position further to the north, above the line of Boyabat-Durağan-Vezirköprü and on the hills on one side or the other of the lower Kızılırmak valley.<sup>14</sup> Houwink ten Cate, in commenting on this, supports the arguments of von Schuler which point to a position to the east rather than the west of the

<sup>8</sup> *Hattusilis III*, 46–54.

<sup>9</sup> J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* (London 1959), 6 sqq. A. Goetze, "The Roads of Northern Cappadocia in Hittite Times" (*RHA* 15, 1957, 93 sqq.).

<sup>10</sup> *RHA* 1 (1930) p. 26.

<sup>11</sup> H. G. Güterbock, "The North-Central Area of Hittite Anatolia," *JNES* XX (1961), 85–97.

<sup>12</sup> E.g. Haas, *op. cit.*, 5.

<sup>13</sup> A. M. Dinçol and J. Yakar, "The Theories on the localisation of Nerik Reconsidered," *Belleten* XXXVIII (1974), 573–581.

<sup>14</sup> Dinçol and Yakar, *op. cit.*, 580.

The evidence of *KUB XXXVI 89* cannot, however, be dismissed out of hand. Any "explanation" of a myth can only be tentative and uncertain; but the suggestion that the myth used by Güterbock is aetiological in origin and in purpose does carry some conviction. How then can it be used to help us to locate Nerik? "It is evident", says Güterbock,<sup>17</sup> "that the story is aetiological in that it serves to explain a sudden turn in the course of the river by saying that, whereas it would otherwise not have touched Nerik, it was brought there by divine intervention." This is true as far as it goes. But it does not, I think, go far enough. In considering the passage we ought not to stop, as Güterbock does, at rev. 14. The continuation of the text is as follows:

18 D U ANE-wa <sup>1D</sup> Ma-ra-aš-ša-an-ta te-e-et le-en-ki-i[a-wa]-ta e-es-du  
19 nu-wa-za-kán a-ar-ša-nu le-e wa-aḫ-nu-ši nu-za-kán <sup>1D</sup> [Ma-ra-aš-ša-a]n-ta-aš  
ar-sa-nu  
20 Ú-UL wa-aḫ-nu-ut šu-um-ma-ša-at DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> i-ia-at-te-e[n . . . ] tal-li-ia-du  
21 D U URU Ne-ri-ik <sup>1D</sup> Na-ak-ki-li-ia-ta-aš a-ru-na-za-an ḫu-un-ḫu-eš-na-za GAM-an  
ar-ḫa ú-wa-te-ed-du

The Weather-god of Heaven said to the Marassantas: "let it be an oath for you. Do not change your course!" And the Marassantas did not change its course. You, gods, made it (so). Let the Nakkiliyatas call on the Weather-god of Nerik. Let it bring him back from the sea, from the spring below.

<sup>18</sup> Haas, op. cit., 170.

lines 15–17 and 18–19 are spoken by the same god, the name of the speaker should be re-introduced, and more clearly specified, at the beginning of line 18, and that the god who in line 13 changed the course of the Marassantas should in line 19 order it specifically *not* to change its course. It is at least possible, I feel, that lines 15–17 are spoken by the Weather-god of Nerik, and that there is therefore a change of speaker at line 18. But whatever conclusion one may reach on this point, it is important to take note of the final part of the story. In the end (lines 19–20) the Marassantas *did not change its course*, and the task of transporting the Weather-god of Nerik was assigned not to the Marassantas but to a rival stream, the Nakkiliyatas.

How, if the myth is aetioloical, are we to interpret this? We must, I think, take it not that Nerik lay close to the Marassantas, but that although the waters of the Marassantas (or of a tributary of the Marassantas), thanks to a sudden bend, flowed sufficiently close to Nerik to make it conceivable that a god had once intervened with the intention of making them flow past the town, Nerik was in fact sited on or near another river, the Nakkiliyatas, which was therefore in a position to transport the Weather-god of Nerik when transport to or from the sea was required. In other words we have to look for the site of Nerik in an area close to the watershed which divides the valley of the Kızılırmak from that of another stream, a stream the waters of which eventually find their way to the Black Sea.

While I was reflecting on this conclusion, I happened by chance to be reading W. J. Hamilton's fascinating account of his travels in Turkey in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>19</sup> On August 1st, 1836, Hamilton left Vezirköprü (which he spells Vizir Keupri) for Ladik. I quote from his entry for that day:

MONDAY, August 1. Vizir Keupri to Ladik eight hours. It was near seven before we started. About a mile and a half from Vizir Keupri we began slowly ascending a narrow valley between low and undulating hills, and soon crossed a small stream flowing towards the north. At half-past seven there was a fountain on the right, and near it many fragments of columns and hewn blocks, some of which were built into the walls of cottages near the road side, having probably been brought from Vizir Keupri. As we advanced, the hills were covered with privet, but the furrows and ridges which we could detect beneath the vegetation were proofs of former culture. We continued ascending towards the S.S.E. until a quarter after eight, when we reached the top of the ridge, where porphyritic and trachytic rocks protruded through the surface. From thence, descending a wooded ravine by a winding road for two miles, we entered a sylvan valley, watered by the Staular, or Istaular Chai, flowing rapidly over its rocky bed from a high range of mountains to the S.W. Its course is here due east for several miles; but it afterwards turns N.E., and then N., falling, as I was informed, into the Kizil Irmak near Bafra. The wooded mountains to our right extending from east to west were at a distance of about four miles, the lofty peak called Yan, or Iyan Kaléh, which I had observed bearing S.40 W. from Vizir Keupri, being one of the highest points of the range. I was now told that there were some ruins on the summit, which may be the remains of Sagylum, the name given by Strabo to a fort in this neighbourhood.

<sup>19</sup> W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia* (London 1842).

The rocks which formed the northern or left bank of the river consist of volcanic peperite, and a decomposing trachyte, containing numerous angular fragments of other trachytes, varying much in colour and hardness. I observed no appearance of stratification, but the variations of colour rather indicated an inclination to the N.E. Leaving the valley of the Staular Chai on our left, we crossed another low range of hills, consisting chiefly of sand and gravel, and entered a rich valley, watered by a stream flowing towards Cauvsa. Passing the village of Sousanji, and crossing the stream, we followed its course until we reached the village and baths of Cauvsa, half way between Vizir Keupri and Ladik. Here must be the θερμὰ ὕδατα τῶν Φαζημωνιτῶν, described by Strabo, and to which he attributed great medicinal virtue. The place now consisted of some ruined buildings of Byzantine character, and a few shops and wooden sheds; while the sick population of the neighbourhood were living in huts made of sticks and branches on the hill side, their wet bathing clothes hanging out to dry on every branch and bush around them.

In the wall of the mosque were three Greek inscriptions, but written in such a barbarous character, on so bad a stone, and so ill placed, that I found it impossible to decipher them; they were all sepulchral. The other buildings were the baths, apparently of Byzantine construction; and higher up the hill one which bore marks of the Saracenic style, called the refectory of a Turkish medresséh, or college, the ruins of which covered a considerable space of ground below the baths. This college belonged to the Softa, a kind of monkish or religious order existing throughout Turkey, being a branch of the Ulemah; they were formerly a powerful and numerous body, but have lately been reduced. The baths are now little visited; about 30 families only being there, besides a few in the neighbouring villages, and some rich Turkish ladies from Tocat, Amasia, and other large towns. During the day time I was unable to visit the hot bath while the women were in possession, but I went in the evening, accompanied by Hafiz Agha, who, in his zeal, insisted upon carrying the light: notwithstanding this, he contrived to walk into the almost boiling water, tumbling in head-foremost with the candle; his shouts and screams alone told me where he was, while the darkness into which we were thrown prevented my being of any use to him. The bath is built over the principal source, the thermometer rising to 125° Fahr. in the mouth of the pipe through which the water flowed into the bath. I did not observe any igneous rocks in the immediate neighbourhood of the village.

Tuesday, August 2. Cauvsa to Ladik four hours. After descending to and crossing the stream from Sousanji, we ascended another valley, watered by a much larger river, called the Sousacham Chai, which, flowing from the N.E., joins the Cauvsa stream, and then falls into the Iris below Amasia.<sup>20</sup>

At this point Hamilton went on in a south-easterly direction towards Ladik, and his journey no longer concerns us.

The route described above was also followed (in the opposite direction) by

<sup>20</sup> Hamilton, op. cit., 332–334.

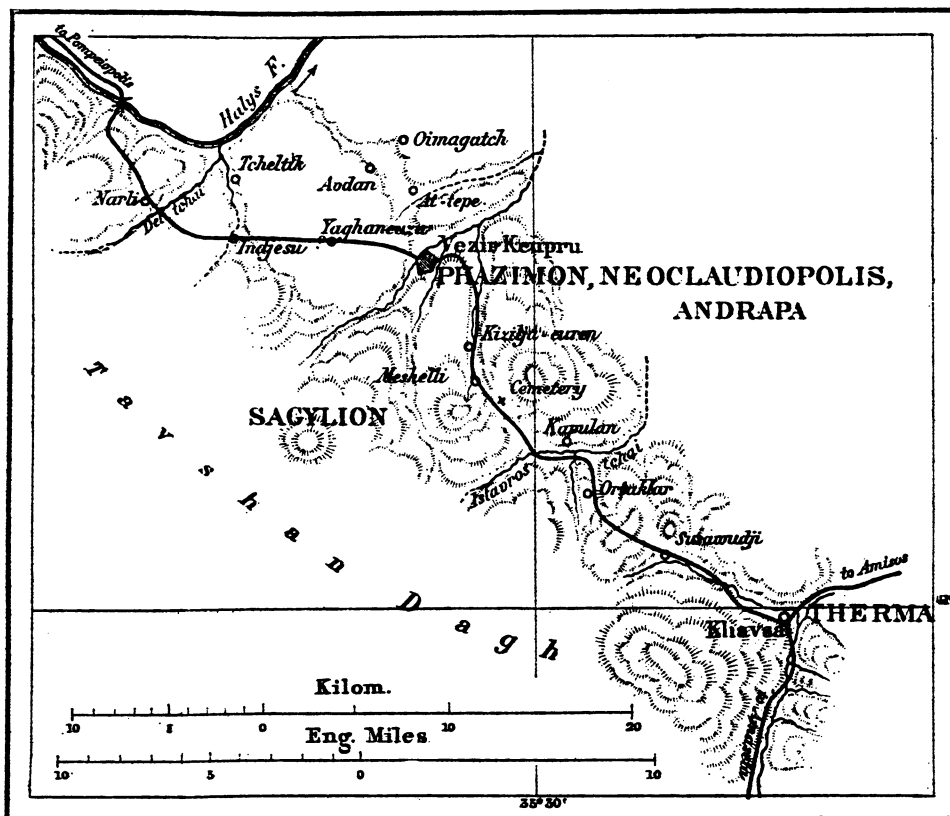


Fig. 1 Vezirköprü-Hava area: J. G. C. Anderson's map.

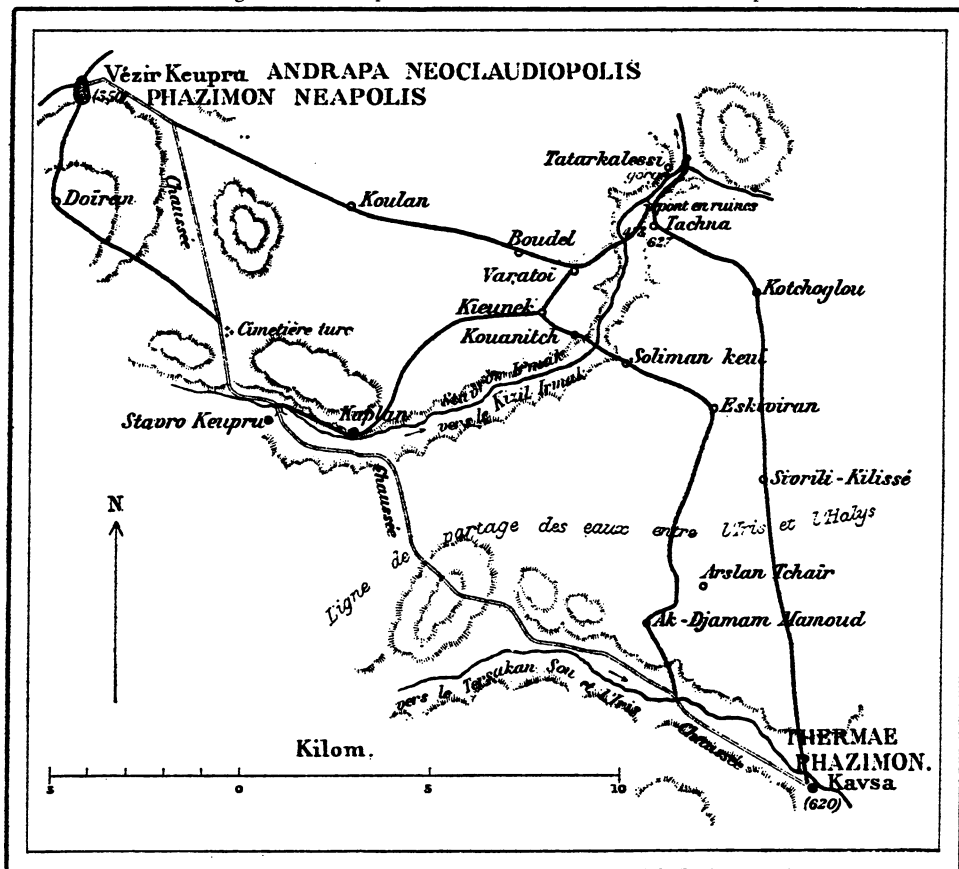


Fig. 2 Vezirköprü-Hava area: F. and E. Cumont's map.

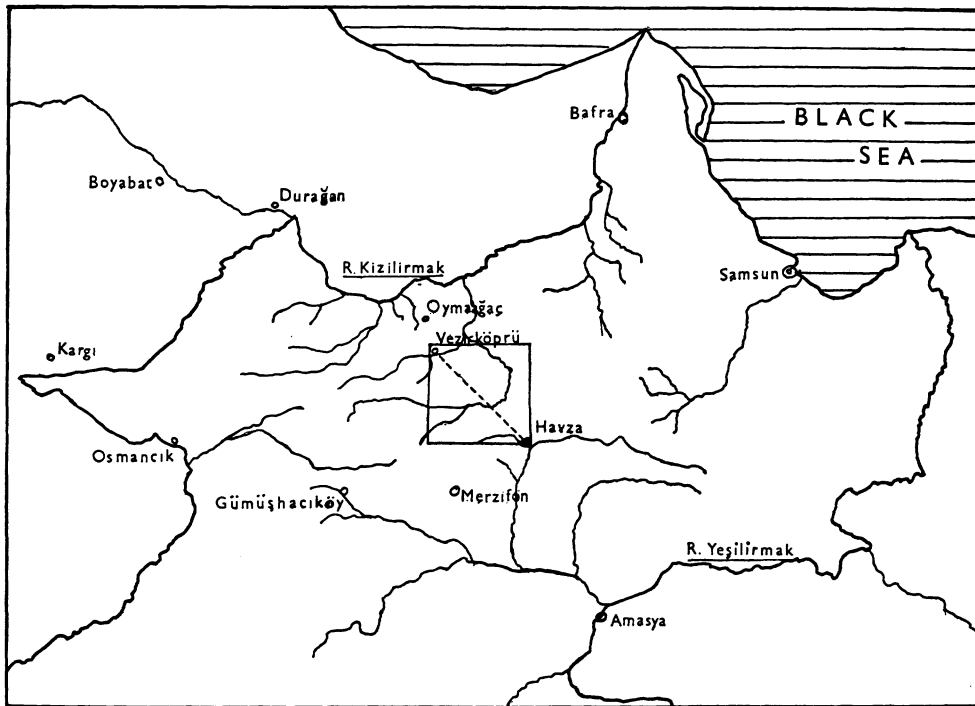


Fig. 3 Tributaries of the Kızılırmak and Yeşilirmak (simplified).

J. G. C. Anderson in August 1899,<sup>21</sup> and is shown on the map which he published in his account of his travels (Fig. 1). The following spring the region was traversed by Franz and Eugène Cumont,<sup>22</sup> and their map (Fig. 2) also illustrates Hamilton's narrative and at the same time clearly marks the "ligne de partage des eaux entre l'Iris et l'Halys". A more general map showing the relationship of the streams of the region to the two major rivers is given in Fig. 3. I cannot help feeling that the area described by these authors, situated as it is just north of the range of the Tavşan Dağ, which formed the boundary between Classical Phazimonitis and Amaseia, and which may well have previously been the boundary between Hatti and the Gasga-country, fulfils all the requirements which are necessary for the identification of the Nerik region. If this is so, then Nerik itself could well have been situated at modern Havza (which is spelled Cauvsa by Hamilton, Khavza by Anderson, and Kavza by the Cumonts), and the River Nakkiliyatas would then be the stream described by Hamilton as flowing past Sousanji and Havza and then joining the Iris (the Yeşilirmak) below Amasya.

If this suggestion is acceptable, some interesting results follow from it. A prominent feature of Havza is, and has been since at least the Classical period, the existence there of a hot spring which is claimed to have powerful medicinal qualities. Havza is to be identified with the θερμὰ ὕδατα τῶν Φαζημωνιτῶν described by Strabo as being ὑγιεινὰ σφόδρα,<sup>23</sup> and inscriptions found there show that offerings of thanks were made to Asclepius, described as ἄναξ Ἀσκληπιός and σωτὴρ θεός.<sup>24</sup> A number of years ago I argued that there was evidence to suggest that the Weather-god of Nerik was not in origin a "weather-god" at all, and that rather than being linked with water that falls in the form of rain from the sky he

<sup>21</sup> J. G. C. Anderson, *Studia Pontica* I (Brussels 1903), 82–84, and Map IX.

<sup>22</sup> F. and E. Cumont, *Studia Pontica* II (Brussels 1906), 124 sqq., and Map XI.

<sup>23</sup> Strabo C560 (XII, 3, 38).

<sup>24</sup> J. G. C. Anderson, F. Cumont and H. Grégoire: *Studia Pontica* III (Brussels 1910), 37.

was primarily a god of water which rises from the ground through springs and wells.<sup>25</sup> In the first version of the myth which has just been used to locate Nerik the god's angry descent into a hole (*ḫateššar*) results in disaster for mankind,<sup>26</sup> while in the second version (quoted above) it is clear that the god in similar circumstances descends into a spring (TÚL) and is transported by the River Nakki-liyatas.<sup>27</sup> The hot spring of Havza, the waters of which flow to the stream descending from Sousanji and eventually reach the Yeşilirmak, must, I think, be a strong candidate for the spring or hole which is so closely linked with the cult of Nerik's principal god.

It must of course be accepted that this suggestion, like that of Güterbock, is based only on textual evidence, and that reports of survey-work in the Havza region make no mention of any site at Havza itself.<sup>28</sup> But round the hot spring, which has been in continuous use at least since the Classical period, any Hittite remains would have been either totally destroyed or heavily overlaid by the extensive building works of later periods, and there is, I think, still a strong possibility that the equation is correct. If so, the *dahanga* cult-room, the central architectural feature of the worship at Nerik,<sup>29</sup> may in fact have been constructed over the hot spring itself.

Another aspect of the cult at Nerik which has important geographical implications in the worship there of Mount Haharwa.<sup>30</sup> Güterbock has shown that Haharwa is a mountain range rather than an isolated peak, and has suggested that it is to be equated with the Ada Dağ.<sup>31</sup> If Nerik was situated at Havza, then the obvious candidate for equation with Haharwa is the Tavşan Dağ range, which could be approached either from Nerik to the north or from Hanhana to the south, and which in other ways too fits in with the geographical indications to be gleaned from the texts. Archaeological survey on the slopes of the Tavşan Dağ might reveal remains of the "towns" mentioned in *KUB V 1* as being situated on Mount Haharwa. But one must always remember that although it is usual to describe as a "town" any settlement the name of which is preceded in a text by the determinative URU, such settlements can be of any size from the smallest and most archaeologically elusive hamlet (possibly only a house or two) to the four-hundred-acre site of Hattusas. One must not, especially in hill-country, where stone is much used and re-used in house-building, expect every settlement to be represented by an immediately recognisable hüyük.

Can we then see the deity of Nerik as being in any way similar to the local σωτήρ θεός of Havza, identified in the Classical period with Asclepius? Once again we can turn for help to *KUB XXXVI 89*. Despite the often fragmentary state of the text, its overall purpose is clear. The recital of the myths, and the ritual acts which accompany them, are designed to bring the god of Nerik back to his home, and to persuade him to look "with auspicious eyes" on the king and queen and other members of the royal family.<sup>32</sup> His departure had apparently resulted in the removal of "growth, life and long years" (*mijatar TI-tar MUḪLA GID.DA*)<sup>33</sup> from the royal pair, and his return will, it is hoped, restore to them,

<sup>25</sup>J. G. Macqueen, *Hittian Mythology and Hittite Monarchy: AS IX* (1959), 171–188.

<sup>26</sup>*KUB XXXVI 89*, obv. 12–17.

<sup>27</sup>*KUB XXXVI 89*, rev. 1–23.

<sup>28</sup>*AS XXIII* (1973), 64–65. *AS XXIV* (1974), 50–51.

<sup>29</sup>Haas, *op. cit.*, 168–169.

<sup>30</sup>*KUB VI 45 i 71 = KUB VI 46 ii 36*.

<sup>31</sup>Güterbock, *op. cit.*, 93–95.

<sup>32</sup>Obv. 27–29; rev. 50–51.

<sup>33</sup>Obv. 16–17.



and to the land, “well-being” (*aššu*),<sup>34</sup> “well-being and life” (*assu* and *TI-tar*),<sup>35</sup> and “life, vitality and long years” (*TI-tar innarawater MU GÍD.DA 𒀭.A*).<sup>36</sup> The only means specified in the text by which this will be achieved is the gift of “soft rain” (*meuš heuš*);<sup>37</sup> but while this is entirely suitable for the restoration of life to the land, it is difficult to see what effect it will have on the king and queen, apart from making them wet and perhaps causing them to catch cold. In my earlier article I argued that behind the Hittite myth and ritual which we find here lies an older Hattian myth and ritual connected with underground waters. If these underground waters had medicinal powers, then they could indeed bring “life, vitality and long years” to the monarch and his consort, and their deity would indeed have qualities which in a later period could be regarded as those of the healing god Asclepius. Thus it is perhaps not too far-fetched to suggest that in the representation of Asclepius placed on their coins by the people of Neoclaudiopolis (Vezirköprü) in acknowledgement of that deity’s gift of the medicinal springs which lay within their territory at Havza, we may see a Classical portrayal of the deity who was known in Hittite times as the Weather-god of Nerik.<sup>39</sup>



Fig. 4 Coin of Neoclaudiopolis, with figure of Asclepius. Photo Ashmolean Library, Oxford.

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It is interesting to note that if my suggestion proves unacceptable, and the proposal that Nerik is to be sited at Oymağaç Tepe is preferred, there is at that site clear archaeological evidence for a corbelled underground passage leading to a spring.<sup>40</sup> Perhaps this passage had a purely practical function; but it is tempting to see in it yet another instance of the connection between a “weather-god” and a source of underground waters.

<sup>34</sup> Rev. 61.

<sup>35</sup> Rev. 45.

<sup>36</sup> Obv. 33.

<sup>37</sup> Rev. 54: rev. 60.

<sup>38</sup> Macqueen, *op. cit.*, 172–173.

<sup>39</sup> If the connection between the Weather-god of Nerik and the hot spring of Havza can be accepted it is possible that a similar connection may be helpful in identifying the sites of other shrines (e.g. Zippalanda) at which “Weather-gods” were worshipped.

<sup>40</sup> AS XXIII (1973), 64. The position of Oymağaç Tepe is shown on the maps in Figs. 1 and 3.